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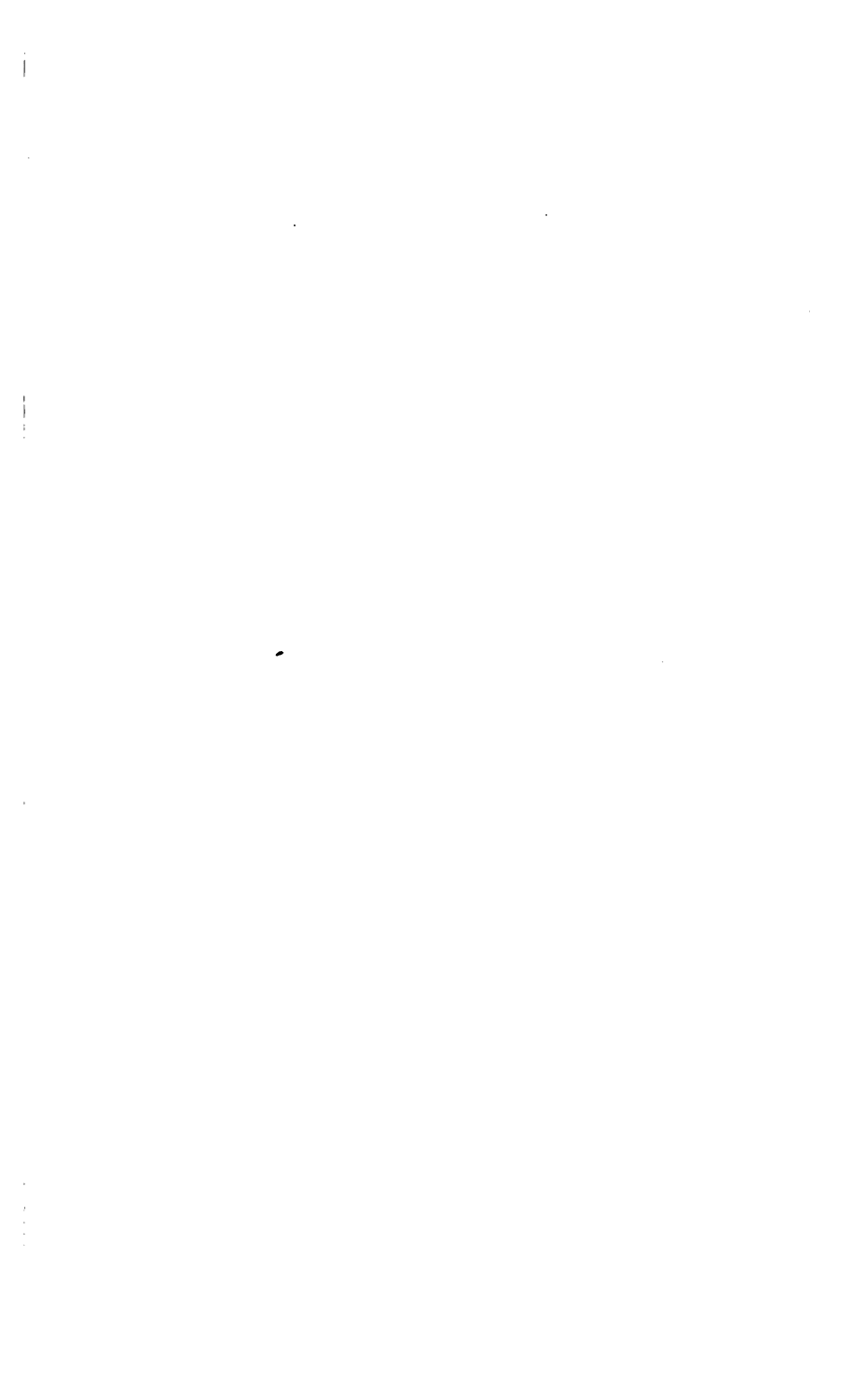
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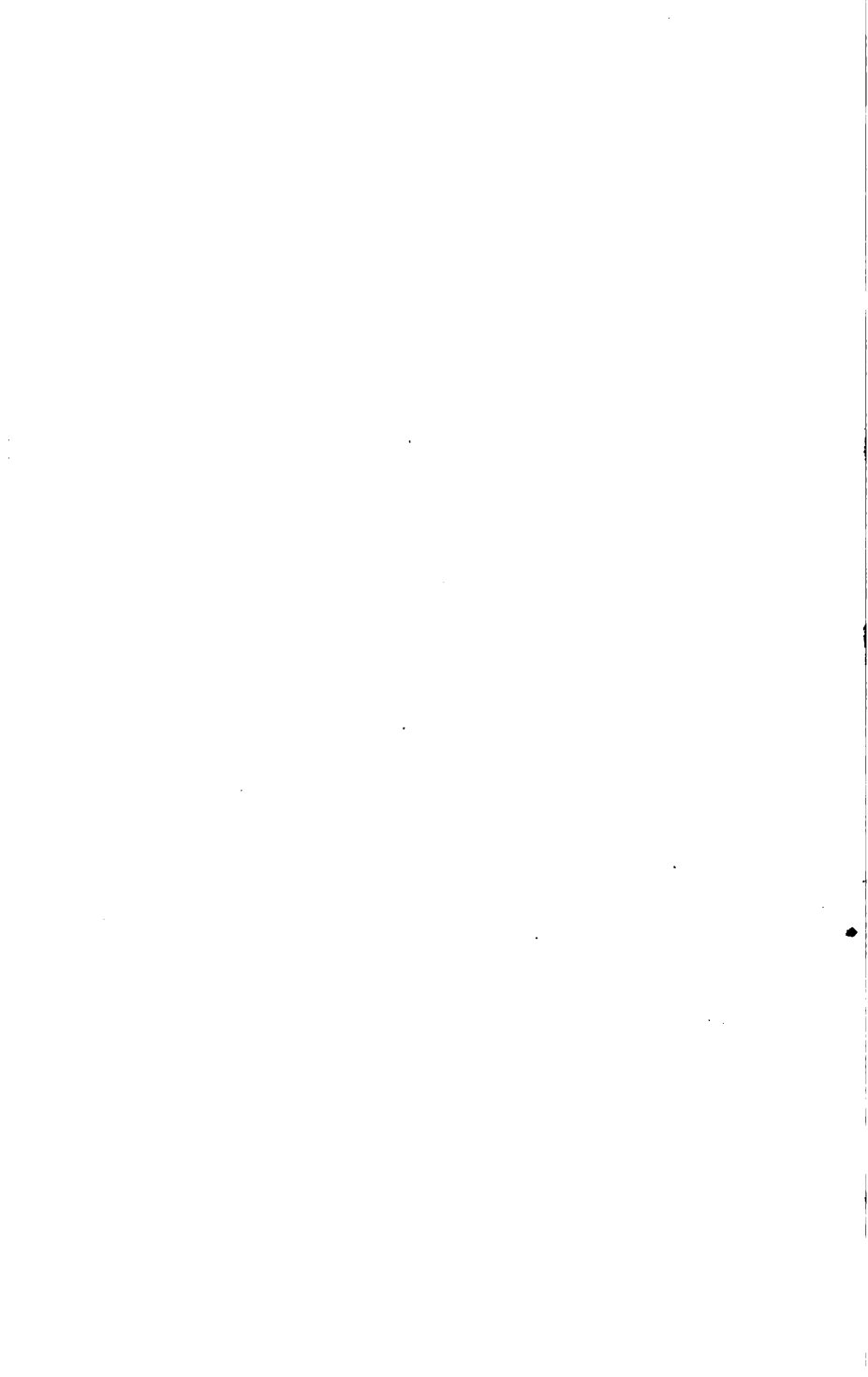
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

1084 FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

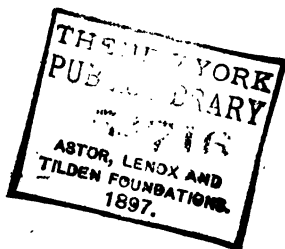
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S.M.



A GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.



M A R Y.

THE French court was now very earnest with the queen-regent to lay before the Scotch parliament, the obligations the nation was under to act offensively against the English, who were then in actual war with France, according to the tenor of the treaties, I have often mentioned. The queen-regent assembled a parliament at Newbottle, in Mid Lothian, where she laid before the members the request made by the French king, and peremptorily insisted upon their declaring war against England. They answered with great firmness, that they had nothing to apprehend from that court; that its dispositions were pacific; and

A.D. 1557.

A parliament.

A. D. 1557.

that negotiations between the two crowns were then going on at Carlisle. This behaviour of the Scotch parliament, did not disconcert the queen-mother. She sent repeated orders to D'Oyffel to continue building the fort at Eymouth, to strengthen the garrison of Berwick; and, in short, to omit no kind of hostility against their interest. The earl of Westmoreland, one of the English commissioners at Carlisle, informed the earl of Shrewsbury, that the Scots were trifling; and that their troops were acting in a manner directly contrary to the language of their commissioners at Carlisle. His letter is dated on the ninth of June, and contains many particulars of hostilities daily committed by the Scots against the English. It is almost incredible, that after those provocations, the English court was so unwilling to come to a determined rupture, that the negotiations continued; and on the thirteenth of July, a truce for two months was agreed upon by both parties, provided the respective sovereigns approved.

Differences
with Eng-
land.

The queen-regent, far from agreeing to this truce, sent a peremptory requisition to queen Mary of England, demanding that she should withdraw her troops from the Low Countries; and threatening her, if that was refused, with an immediate declaration of war. A demand of that kind, so indefensible in itself, and so unexpected at the time it was made, exasperated the queen of England so much, that
hearing

hearing the queen-regent was advanced to Dunbar, with the Scotch, or rather the French army, she talked of taking the field in person; and some preparations were actually made for that purpose. A. D. 1557.

The situation of the queen-regent was now very different from what it had formerly been. She was, indeed, devoted to the interest of France, and eager for the union of Scotland with that crown, by means of a marriage between her daughter and the dauphin; but she was obliged to pursue that measure in an indirect manner, very contrary to her inclination, by courting the Scotch nobility, the majority of whom were the declared friends of the Reformation. She now lay under another disadvantage. The clergy, formerly the great support of the French interest, were no longer jealous of the English nation, which had, at its head, a queen according to their own mind; and they were even disgusted at the partiality which the queen-regent and the French interest had shewn in favour of heretics. This was one main cause of the queen-regent's miscarriage in the parliament at Newbottle; but she found resources in the great supplies she received from France, and in the earl of Huntley, and other Scotch noblemen of the old religion, or sworn enemies to England. In the collections that have been made by English authors, we have a great number
of

A. D. 1557. of particulars relating to the hostilities now carried on; but as the war was little better than prædatory, I shall confine myself to the most important circumstances.

The earl of
Huntley
declared ge-
neral on the
borders.

The earl of Huntley, in the beginning of August, was declared warden-general of the Scotch borders, and was directed to begin hostilities as soon as possible. The Scotch army was then lying at Dunbar; but that of the French was still farther advanced towards Berwick, under the command of D'Oyffel, and one Chartebusy. The English army was to be commanded by the earls of Shrewsbury and Westmoreland; but they found the northern countries so disaffected to the service, that they refused either to go into garrison, or to take the field before the Scots entered England. This objection was soon removed by the earls of Huntley and Hume, with the two bastard brothers of the young queen, the lords James and Robert, filling their neighbourhood with ravages, and putting all to the sword who made resistance. It is hard to say what the event might have been, had not Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, a gentleman of spirit and great interest in the north of England, prevailed with the freeholders, and the chief gentry there who joined him, by which he saved the castle of Ford, and threw himself into that of Alnwick, thereby preventing it from falling into the hands of the Scots.

Scots. The east marches of England, however, continued to be in great danger; but Piercy being reinforced by part of the garrison of Berwick, made so good an appearance, that the invaders thought proper to retire. According to Piercy's own account, he pursued his enemies into the Merse, where he burnt sixteen towns, and carried off a large booty, besides some prisoners. A.D. 1557.

The queen-regent, during this inroad into England, had assembled a very considerable army. D'Oyffel had been at great pains to teach the Scotch soldiers the French discipline; and mention is made in the English records, of an encounter between the earl of Huntley, and the earl of Northumberland, who was appointed warden of the English marches, in which the latter was repulsed; but I apprehend that this must have happened in the last inroad I have mentioned; for upon the retreat of the Scotch army towards Maxwell-Heugh, they became very cool in the prosecution of an offensive war with England. This was owing to the violence of the queen and the French party, who thought that the success of their arms would get the better of the backwardness of the Scots to enter England; and therefore the queen-regent insisted most furiously, that the whole army should pass the Tweed. The duke of Chatleheraut opposed this proposal; and the army, in general, refused

The French discipline introduced among the Scots.

A. D. 1557. refused to serve in another kingdom, at the command of the queen-regent. The English were well acquainted with those sentiments of the Scots; and both armies lay inactive within six miles of Berwick, the officers of both paying visits, and acts of civility, to each other. It was at last agreed, that the state of the war should be referred to a parliament, or rather an assembly of the nobility, which was accordingly summoned by the queen-regent to meet at Edinburgh, towards the end of the same month. The English army, at this time, amounted to eighteen, or at least sixteen thousand men, of whom six thousand were cavalry.

Moderation
of the Eng-
lish court.

The disputes among the Scots might have been fatal to them, had it not been for the almost unexampled moderation of the English court. The earl of Shrewsbury, and their chief officers in the North, received repeated orders to have a vigilant eye upon the motions of the Scots; but to lie upon the defensive, and to spare no money in obtaining intelligence. They were obliged to comply with those orders without daring to attack the French, who continued to be encamped near Berwick, while the Scotch army lay at Edinburgh, waiting the result of the determinations of the assembly that had been summoned. The duke of Chatleheraut, and other Scotch noblemen, at this time held a close correspondence with the English government; so that the latter were under no apprehensions from

from their enemies, as long as they should continue upon the defensive. A cartel, in the intermediate time, was settled for the exchange of prisoners.

A. D. 1555.

In the meeting of the nobility at Edinburgh, the French interest prevailed for the continuance of the war; on pretence of an attempt made by the English against the fort at Eyemouth. On the seventh of September, the army began its march in three divisions, the first was commanded by the earl of Huntley, the center by the duke of Chatleheraut, and the rear by the earl of Cassils. The duke was now a strenuous partizan for England; and he had accepted of the nomination, with an intention to defeat the French party in the councils of war. The siege of Berwick was proposed to be undertaken; but when the affair came to be debated, the duke opposed it with such firmness, that the queen-regent despaired of bringing the Scots to act offensively; and they remained to the sixteenth of that month in an unactive state. It is plain, from Sir Henry Piercy's letters, that the duke of Chatleheraut, at this time, held a close correspondence with him, and the other English nobility; and even entertained spies about the queen-regent's person. This correspondence was unknown to the earl of Shrewsbury, and the English generals in the North; for when the earls of Westmoreland and Derby, understanding that the Scotch army had resumed their march about the second of

Hostilities recommence between Scotland and England.

A. D. 1557. October, had mustered their army, and were preparing to fight them, they were countermanded by an order from the English court. As the Scotch army had been ordered to furnish themselves only with forty days provisions, the time was almost elapsed, when D'Oyffel, without waiting for the result of the council's deliberations, on the seventeenth of October passed the Tweed with his French troops and artillery, attended by some of the most forward of the Scots, and laid siege to the castle of Wark, which was bravely defended by a gentleman of the name of Shinglby.

Insolent
conduct of
the French.

The queen-regent, at the time of this unauthorized, and insolent enterprize, was at Kelso. It was evident, that D'Oyffel had undertaken it, in order to fulfil her promises to the French court. The Scotch nobility, with the duke of Chatleheraut at their head, met at Maxwell Heugh, where they passed an act, justifying the duke of Chatleheraut's proceedings, in refusing to enter England, and ordaining the army to be brought back; and the siege of the castle of Wark to be left, (raised) for such is the word of the record. This act was a defeazance of the queen-regent's authority; but the resentment of the nobility did not stop there. The duke of Chatleheraut was authorized to acquaint her, in plain terms, that they were resolved not to pay the French king's general an obedience, which they had formerly refused to their own princes; meaning, that the latter had always

Oct. 25.

, con-

consulted their nobility before they invaded England. They, at the same time, threatened to make D'Oyffel answer for his conduct with his head, if she did not exclude his influence from her councils. The earl of Huntley was the only nobleman, present, who opposed those resolutions; for which they put him under arrest. I perceive, however, that some talk was held in the council, about concluding a peace with England, without the queen-regent's authority, which might be the reason of that nobleman's being confined. The queen-regent received the news, at Kello, with great indignation, when communicated to her by the duke of Chatleheraut, and other noblemen, deputed for that purpose. In vain did she make use of prayers, menaces, and even tears, to prevail with them to alter their resolution; for they continued firm in it; and she was obliged to sign an order for D'Oyffel to raise the siege.

The conduct of the Scotch nobility in this expedition, however spirited and patriotic it was, is not entirely defensible, because they made no provision for the safe retreat of their army, which the duke of Chatleheraut might easily have done, by means of his correspondents. The English generals could scarcely credit their own good fortune; for it appears, from their own records, that their troops were in a most miserable condition to have resisted an invasion; and many of them had actually

Policy of
the Scotch
nobility.

A.D. 1557. mutiny'd for want of pay, and all kind of necessaries. The retreat of the Scots gave them fresh spirits. The lords Wharton and Evers, with a detachment from the garrison of Berwick, made an irruption into Scotland, and destroyed it for some miles. Sir Henry Piercy, Sir John Foster, and other gentlemen, entered the middle-marches; took the castle of Linton, destroyed the town, and burnt a number of villages. They were opposed by a Teviotdale gentleman, Sir Andrew Car; and an encounter ensued, to the disadvantage of the Scots, who lost another gentleman of eminence of the same name. The English were suffered to return with their booty.

Affairs on
the conti-
nent.

The queen-regent now perceived that her authority was liable to be controuled in every respect; and that it was necessary to establish it, by hastening the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin, which would reduce the powers assumed by the council. Her situation, at this juncture, was such, that she received the greatest opposition from the chiefs of the Roman catholic party; and her principal dependence was on those of the reformed, whose followers she treated with great indulgence. Without seeming to resent what had passed at Kelso, she ordered the Scotch army to be disbanded, all but a few, who chose to serve with the French: they went into winter-quarters at Eymouth, and other places on the borders.

ders. She had received the disagreeable news of the French having been totally defeated at the battle of St. Quintin, by the English and Spaniards; but that the constable of France, the great opposer of her daughter's marriage with the dauphin, was a prisoner. It is here proper to observe, that the favourable turn which the French affairs afterwards took under the duke of Guise, was, in a great measure, owing to the diversion she had made upon the English borders. The English soldiers disliked the Spaniards so much, that after the battle of St. Quintin, they demanded, in a mutinous manner, to return to their own country, to defend it against the Scots; which so many of them did, that the duke of Guise, who was recalled from Italy, retrieved the lustre of the French arms; met with no opposition in the preparations he made for retaking Calais, and entirely driving the English out of France. That he was successful, was owing, in a great measure, to the queen-regent's management in Scotland, which maintained her credit at the French court. I shall not here describe all the preparative steps taken by that king for reconciling the Scotch nation to the match between his son and the queen of Scotland, and which met with no very strong opposition. I shall only observe, that the bigotry of Mary of England, and her husband, Philip of Spain, with the daily apprehensions

A.D. 1557. henfions of children from that detefted marriage, were ftrong motives for the Scotch reformers to wifh for a French match, rather than that their queen fhould be beftowed upon any prince of the houfe of Austria.

Session of
the Scotch
parliament.

Dated at St.
Germain en
Laye, Oct. 1
30.

The Scotch parliament met, according to its fummons, on the fourteenth of December; and there the queen-regent laid before the afsembly a letter from the French king to the ftates of Scotland, defiring them to appoint fome of their own number to repair to Paris, to be witneffes of the marriage between the dauphin and their queen. The letter is written with decency, though Buchanan fays it contains a prolix enumeration of the ancient leagues between France and Scotland. The moft obfervable paffage of it is, the mention of the young queen's being carried over to France, with a view to the marriage. We know of no debate that followed upon the prefentment of this letter. In compliance with it, a commiffion was given that very day, for the following perfons: James Beaton arch-bifhop of Glasgow, David Panter bifhop of Ross, principal fecretary of ftate, Robert Reid bifhop of Orkney, prefident of the feflion; George Lesley earl of Rothef, a privy counfellor, Gilbert Kennedy earl of Caftils, lord high-treafurer; James lord Fleming, high chamberlain, George lord Seaton, James Stenart prior of St. Andrew's, natural brother to the queen,

queen, and John Erskine of Dun, to be present at the marriage act, as attorneys for the kingdom.

A. D. 1557.

A majority of those commissioners were of the reformed religion, as some of them had distinguished themselves for their zeal against popery. Panter, who was an accomplished statesman, was then on his death-bed, and fearfully left behind him his equal in the elegance and purity of the Latin tongue. The other two ecclesiastics were worthy men and good patriots. The young queen made them, and the duchess of Guise, her procurators at the treaty of her marriage; and a procuratory power, dated at Edinburgh * the fourth of February, 1557-8, was sent by the queen-regent to the same duchess, her mother. The result of this parliament's debates, and their instructions given to the commissioners, are evidences of their disinterestedness and independency. They were instructed to require from their queen, both before and after her marriage, a ratification of the act passed in the parliament, held in the convent near Haddington, July the

Commissioners sent to France for the queen's marriage.

1558.

Their instructions.

* Mr. Keith says (page 72) it was dated from Risleburgh or Lisleburgh; but that he does not know what place it is. Had not that industrious gentleman confined his reading entirely to the period that fell under his pen, he might have easily perceived that Edinburgh, at that time, was always called Lisleburgh by the French, I suppose, because the south and west, behind the castle, as well as the north part, was then surrounded by water. This opinion seems to be well founded by the disposition of the ground.

seventh,

A.D. 1558. seventh, 1548, touching the sending her majesty into France. To obtain from the French king a ratification of his former promises, made to the duke of Chatleheraut, for aiding and supporting him in his succession to the crown of Scotland, if the queen should chance to die without children of her own body. They were to require the queen and her husband to confirm the said declaration, and to discharge the duke of Chatleheraut from all his intromissions with the public money during his regency. They were to obtain from the queen and the dauphin, a promise, in ample form, to observe and keep the liberties and privileges of the realm of Scotland, and the laws of the same, whole and entire, as in the days of all her royal progenitors, kings of Scotland. Lastly, that the queen and her husband should grant a commission for a regent to govern the kingdom of Scotland. From this last article, it appears how much bishop Burnet was mistaken in his History of the Reformation, when he said, no care or precaution was used in this treaty, to secure the nation by having a governor, with full powers, residing among them. The same right reverend prelate is little better founded, when he says, the Scotch parliament intended that no peer should be created, but with the concurrence of that body; and he mentions the case of lord Stuart of Ochiltree, who was made a peer (he should have

have said a lord) of parliament by the regent, with the advice and consent of the states. The case was, that Andrew Stuart lord Evandale, having exchanged that lordship for the barony of Ochiltree, the regent and the three estates created him lord Stuart of Ochiltree. This, it must be owned, was a pretty extraordinary step; but cannot infer the conclusion which bishop Burnet draws from it, because it was no more than altering a designation; for I do not find that Sir James Hamilton, who obtained the barony of Ochiltree in exchange, was ever admitted as a lord of parliament. It cannot, however, upon the whole, be denied, that in the Scotch constitution, during the times of popery, which I am now about to take leave of, there was a strong propensity in their parliaments, (as appears from the restrictions they laid upon the third and fourth James) to bound the royal prerogative, in creating lords of parliament. The reader, I hope, will not think this an impertinent digression, when he considers how little of the true Scotch constitution was preserved after this period.

From the Scotch records it appears, that the commissioners were to be ransomed by the public, if they were taken prisoners in their voyage; and if any of them died during their embassy, their heirs were to be entitled to certain privileges. They sailed from Leith in February this year. One of their ships, with some

Perfidious
conduct of
the French
court.

A.D. 1558. valuable effects on board, was wrecked near St. Ebb's-Head, and another near Boulogne; but the commissioners arrived safe at the court of France. History, perhaps, cannot furnish a scene of perfidy and dissimulation equal to that acted by the French king on this occasion. The commissioners, faithful to their instructions, no sooner arrived at Paris than they fulfilled them all. They obtained all the ratifications and assurances required, without the smallest difficulty; and had they been ten times more advantageous to Scotland than they were, they undoubtedly would have succeeded with equal ease: but no sooner were the necessary instruments made out for the security and independency of Scotland, than, on the fourth of April, the French king prevailed with the young queen of Scotland to sign defeazances to them all, by subscribing three papers. In the first, she makes over the kingdom of Scotland, in free gift, to the king of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in case she shall happen to die without children. By the second, in which (lest, I suppose, that king might be disappointed in the former) she is made to assign to the king of France the possession of the kingdom of Scotland, after her decease without children, until he shall be reimbursed of a million of pieces of gold, or of any greater sum that he shall be found to have expended on her entertainment and education,

cation, during her abode in France. And by a third, (the worst of all) by which the queen declares, that although, both before her marriage and after it, in compliance with the desire of her parliament, she shall sign a declaration, touching the lineal succession of her crown; yet she protests, that the genuine sense of her mind is only contained in the two preceding papers.

As the marriage-articles of this royal pair is of so great importance to our history, we shall here exhibit them as they were signed at Paris, on the nineteenth of April, 1558. First, The dauphin shall marry the queen of Scots; and the queen shall take to husband the dauphin, in face of the holy church, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of April. Second, In case the dauphin shall die king of France, the queen-dowager shall enjoy a jointure of sixty thousand livres tournois; or a greater sum, if she chuses it, and it can be proved, that any queen-dowager of France ever possessed such. Third, But if the dauphin decease before he has attained to the crown, his widow shall be entitled to thirty thousand livres tournois, from lands in Tourain and Poictou, in as ample a manner as the late queen Eleonora dowager of France. Fourth, And in the mean time, the estates of Scotland shall have reason to be contented with the honourable provision which the king of France shall make

Marriage
articles be-
tween the
queen and
the dau-
phin.

A.D. 1558. for their queen and the dauphin. Fifth, If the dauphin die before her, the queen of Scotland may either remain in France, or return to Scotland, if she pleases, there to enjoy her jointure, and re-marry, as her parliament shall counsel her; nor shall be hindered to carry with her all the jewels, furniture, &c. which belong to the queens of France; and that, whether she has children or not. Sixth, The eldest son of the marriage, or his representative, shall succeed to both the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and take the arms of both kingdoms under the same crown. Seventh, But if there are only daughters, the eldest, or her issue, shall succeed to the crown of Scotland, and not marry without the joint consent of the king of France and the Scots estates, and shall have at marriage, the sum of three hundred thousand crowns of the sun, as every one of her sisters shall have three hundred thousand of the same currency. Eighth, In consideration of which, the Scots ambassadors have promised to take an oath of fidelity, in name of the estates of Scotland, after the marriage is solemnized to the dauphin, as husband of the queen, to honour and obey him during the marriage, and the children of the marriage, in the same manner as their predecessors did the royal progenitors of the Scots queen. Ninth, The king of France and Scots queen have also agreed, that
the

the dauphin shall bear the title of king of Scotland, and quarter the arms of that realm with his own. A.D. 1558.

Those marriage articles, which have been published from the original by the reverend Mr. Keith, were signed by the contracting parties, in presence of almost all the royal and noble personages in France. The cardinal of Bourbon performed the marriage on the twenty-fourth of April, in presence of the same company. A few days after the ceremony was over, the deputies from Scotland took an oath of allegiance to the king-dauphin, as he was called; and the nuptials were so agreeable to the sense of the nation, in general, that the queen-regent's power appeared to be confirmed, beyond all possibility of its being shaken *. This security undoubtedly anticipated the execution of the perfidious schemes that had been hatched at the French court, where the reader is to remember Catharine de Medicis was queen-consort. From the contents of the defeazances, which I have exhibited, it is plain, that Mary had been prevailed upon, by a private and personal act of her own, to set aside the order of succession to her crown, which had been solemnly and repeatedly confirmed to the Hamilton family by

They are
defeated by
treachery.

* The marriage was commemorated in an epithalamium written by Buchanan, which is deservedly held to be a capital piece of Latin poetry; and is the best production of the kind that came from that author's pen.

A. D. 1558. parliament. Those flagitious instruments had been kept secret, and were afterwards discovered only by accident; for the viscount Preston†, afterwards embassador from Charles the second, to Lewis the fourteenth, obtained authentic transcripts of them, by permission of that monarch; and they are at present deposited in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh. Even the marriage-articles were broken through almost as soon as made; for I perceive, from an authentic instrument published by Mr. Anderson, of a grant to lord Fleming, that the royal couple, a few months (if not days) after their marriage, took upon themselves the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The English arms are, indeed, omitted in the seal appended to this grant; but it is certain, that they were afterwards used by Mary. This incautious, and indeed childish proceeding, may justly be looked upon as the root of all the misfortunes that afterwards befell that princess; as, in fact, she thereby pronounced queen Eliza-

† His name was Graham, and he was afterwards secretary of state to James the second. His fidelity to that prince cost him dear; for though he produced a patent, signed before the throne was declared to be vacant, creating him an English peer; yet he was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey, for being concerned in a conspiracy to restore king James. Though the sentence never was executed, yet, if I mistake not, he died under his confinement in the Tower, where he wrote several works, particularly an English translation of Boetius De Consolatione Philosophiæ, which is far from being a mean performance.

beth to be illegitimate, and herself, as queen of Scotland, to be true heir to the crown of England. A.D. 1552.

Every thing being now prepared for throwing off the mask, the deputies were called into the French council, and were required to agree, that the dauphin should have the power as well as the privileges of a king. In this demand they were not only favoured by what had happened sometime before in England, and other countries in Europe; but from the laws and usages of Scotland, by which the husband of an heiress, if he survives her, and the issue of the marriage, retains possession of her estate, during his own life. This being a regal case, the rights claimed, on the part of the dauphin, were not improperly termed the crown matrimonial, meaning, that he should be to all intents and purposes king of Scotland, during his life-time, by virtue of his marriage. After the great caution employed by the parliament of Scotland to guard against all infractions of their succession and constitution, this demand could not fail of alarming the deputies. In their oath of fidelity to the dauphin, they promise only to obey, serve, and honour him, during his marriage with the queen. This reservation was now set aside; but they pleaded that they had no instructions upon that head. The chancellor of France, upon this, required the deputies to promise, that they should use their interest in obtaining the crown matrimonial

for

*Firmness of
the Scotch
commis-
sioners.*

Keith.

A. D. 1558. for the dauphin, in the ensuing Scotch parliament. The answer they returned to this fresh demand, was, as before, cold and reserved; but Henry had other dependencies for carrying his point.

Elizabeth
succeeds to
the throne
of England.

No sooner did Mary queen of England expire, than he applied to the pope for a bull to annul Elizabeth's right to the crown of England, in favour of the queen of Scotland. This was so far from being secret, that his ministers, in the conferences for a peace which had begun in Mary's time, declared to the English commissioners, that they looked upon the queen of Scotland, as being the true heir to the crown of England. His holiness having some hopes that queen Elizabeth would declare for the Roman catholics in her dominions, and being, in other respects, not on a very good footing with Henry, rejected his application; but Henry, fatally for queen Mary, obliged her to assume the designation and arms of England, and to quarter them with those of France and Scotland, upon all their plate and furniture. The duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, early obtained a copy of one of these impolitic escutcheons, and put it into Elizabeth's hands, a few weeks after her succession to the throne. She was not then in a condition to resent the affront; but the duke of Norfolk sent the escutcheon to be examined by the office of heralds at London, and to return
their

their judgment upon it. They accordingly pronounced, "that the same was prejudicial to the queen of England, her state and dignity; and that the Scottish queen being no more than one of the collaterals of the royal family of England, neither can nor ought to bear any part of the escutcheon of the arms of England, nor the dauphin, her husband, in the right of her or otherwise."

A.D. 1558.
MSS. n. 51.
int. Pref. in
off. arm.
Strype.

Elizabeth, encouraged by the behaviour of the Scotch commissioners at the French court, and the daily expressions she received of her people's loyalty, at first, cut off all correspondence between France and England; and having appointed an excellent set of counsellors, she ordered Cecil (afterwards the famous lord-treasurer Burleigh) to lay the state of her affairs before their board. Cecil performed his orders with great boldness. He observed, that the French influence in Scotland was every day gaining ground; that Berwick, and the other frontier towns, were but poorly provided for a defence, if they were attacked by the French, who were every day sending over troops into Scotland. He observed, that the Scotch queen had assumed the title and arms of England, which left no room to doubt of their designs, especially as the Guises directed all the power of France. The result of this consultation was, that Elizabeth should cultivate the friendship of Spain, for balancing the French in-

A war
threatened.

A.D. 1538. interest; that as England had lately suffered by a plague and famine, she should endeavour to take into her pay a body of Danes, to be employed against the French in Scotland; that remonstrances, and even threatenings, should be made at the court of France; but, in the mean while, that a squadron of ships should be sent to the road of Leith, to prevent, by force, if necessary, the French from sending any more troops to Scotland. The duke of Norfolk, the most respectable nobleman in England, was likewise appointed lord-lieutenant of the northern counties, to reside there with an army.

The lord Evers was then governor of Berwick, which was well provided with artillery and all the necessary means of defence; and in December he beat up the quarters of the French at Eymouth. As Elizabeth was, as yet, not fully prepared to act offensively, Evers was commanded to desist from hostilities, till he should receive farther orders. The precautions taken at Berwick proved a disappointment to the French; and they formed a plan for surprizing Newcastle. Their design was discovered to the English government, and the duke of Norfolk threw a reinforcement into the town; so that this enterprize was likewise defeated. Those repeated attacks of the French, in which they were joined by some Scotchmen, produced, at last, an open state of war upon

upon the borders, where Sir Leonard Dacres, 4. D. 1558
 Sir Henry Percy, and other English officers generally prevailed; and they would have carried the war into Scotland, had they not been countermanded by Elizabeth.

Balfour's
 MSS. Anna's.

The Guises, notwithstanding all their political and military virtues, had no true conception of the state of Scotland at this time. The queen-regent, on the other hand, conducted herself with the most consummate policy, and balanced parties with inimitable address. By continuing to profess herself an advocate for tolerancy in religious matters, she kept up her credit with the reformers; but, for the reasons already given, she was opposed by the ecclesiastics, with the archbishop of St. Andrew's at their head. That prelate had, of late, acted with moderation in every thing; excepting his violence against every measure that could affect the interest of the Hamilton family. As he had a prodigious influence with the ecclesiastical order, the queen-regent had taken care to keep the vacant bishoprics and abbacies, which gave a seat in parliament, vacant, or to bestow them upon Frenchmen. She gave two of the richest abbeys in the kingdom, Kelso and Melrose, to her brother, the cardinal of Lorraine; and in the parliament which was summoned to deliberate upon the grant of the matrimonial crown, no more than seven bishops and sixteen abbots were present.

Artful conduct of the queen regent.

A. D. 1558.

Ambition
of the
French
court.

The moderation of the queen-regent, tho' wise and well-timed, did not keep pace with the ambition, violence, and sanguine expectations of Henry, and the Guises. Four of the Scotch commissioners had died in France, when they were ready to set out for Scotland; and their deaths were generally attributed to poison, administered to them by order of the Guises. The bishop of Orkney, the earls of Rothes and Cassils, had died at Dieppe, when they were about to embark for Scotland; and the lord Fleming being taken ill, returned to Paris, where he expired on the twenty-eighth of December. Some of their attendants died about the same time, though there was then no epidemical disorder in France. It is, perhaps, unfair to charge their fates upon the Guises, when we reflect upon the poisoning practices ascribed to the French queen; and possibly their deaths might be natural. I am the more inclined to the latter opinion, because of the high encomiums bestowed upon the lord Fleming in the charter I have already mentioned, granted to his brother by Francis and Mary, and because the commendator of St. Andrew's, the most obnoxious to them all, escaped. The public formed a different judgment. It was well known, that the commissioners intended to oppose the parliamentary grant of the matrimonial crown; and that the French court was not, at that time, of a com-
pletion

plection, to hesitate upon the most infamous measures that stood in the way of its ambition. The other four commissioners arrived at Montrose, in October; and a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh the twenty-ninth of November. The expectations of the public were raised high upon this occasion; and besides the ecclesiastics I have mentioned, thirteen earls, fifteen lords, two masters, or eldest sons, of lords, and ten representatives of boroughs, in all sixty three, appeared in parliament. It is somewhat surprizing, that no mention is made of the representatives of shires. This can be accounted for no otherwise, than that gentlemen did not chuse to attend, either because such attendance was chargeable and troublesome, or because they disliked the business of the meeting. Perhaps the two masters (as they are called) were knights for two counties.

The first business of this parliament was to receive the report of the four surviving commissioners, and to lay before the members an act of naturalization granted by the king of France to all Scotchmen, to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the natural-born subjects of his kingdom. An act of the same import for naturalizing Frenchmen in Scotland was passed in this parliament. The commissioners next exhibited the queen-dauphin's letters to the three estates, desiring them to grant
to

Proceedings
of the
Scotch par-
liament.

A.D. 1558.

offended at this lukewarmness (as he called it); and at his request, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, with other noblemen and gentlemen of interest, entered into an association for maintaining and advancing the Reformation in Scotland, in the name of the majesty of God and his congregation. This last expression gave rise to the term of lords of congregation, by which that party was afterwards distinguished. The earl of Argyle's high rank, being then chancellor of the kingdom, and in great credit with the queen-regent, gave vast uneasiness to the clergy; but he was proof against all remonstrances on that head, though artfully urged by the archbishop of St. Andrew's. That prelate, though far from being violent by disposition, had given way to some fresh executions, that he might keep up his credit with the clergy. The last capital punishment they ventured to inflict, was upon one Walter Mills, a decrepid priest of eighty-two, who was burnt in April this year; and the stake at which he expired, proved to be the funeral pile of the Romish religion in Scotland.

Demands of
the reform-
ers.

Soon after, the lords of the congregation presented the queen-regent with their demands for a reformation, which I shall lay before the reader, to obviate the charge of violence and rebellion, which some writers have brought against the presentment.

First,

First, That it may be lawful to meet publicly or privately to common prayers in the vulgar tongue, to the end they might grow in knowledge, and be induced, in severity of prayer, to commend to God the holy univ^{er}s^{al} church, the queen our sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the ability of her succession, her grace the regent, the nobility, and whole state of this realm.

Second, That it shall be lawful for any qualified person in knowledge, to interpret any hard places of scripture that shall happen to be read in the meetings.

Third and Fourth, That baptism, and the Lord's supper, be administered in the vulgar tongue: and this last in both kinds, according to our Saviour's institution.

Fifth, That the wicked and scandalous lives of churchmen be reformed, according to the rules contained in the New Testament, the writings of the ancient fathers, and the laws of Justinian the emperor. Which three they are willing shall decide the controversy betwixt them and the present clergy.

The reader will pardon this anticipation of ecclesiastical matters, because, at this time, they became civil concerns. There is no dissembling, that if the queen-regent, by the instigation of the clergy, had proceeded roughly with the reformers, the latter would have repelled force by force. They were sufficiently numerous and

The English fleet
invades the
Orkneys.

A. D. 1558. powerful for that purpose, and they had nothing to apprehend from England, as Elizabeth had amply declared herself in favour of the Reformation there. She had, indeed, ordered her fleet, under Sir John Clare, to make a descent upon the Orkney islands, which he did so unsuccessfully, that after losing some of his men, he was forced to return with his shattered ships to England. After this, Elizabeth took all opportunities of awakening in the Scotch reformers a jealousy of the Guises, and of privately assuring them, that she would at a proper time declare herself their friend.

The queen-regent was so far from expressing any resentment towards the lords of the congregation for their demands, which were presented to her by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, that they left her highly satisfied with her behaviour, and their reception. A convention of the clergy was then sitting at Edinburgh; and some of the members seeing the imminent danger to which their order was exposed, inclined to some compliances in matters of religion, particularly, by allowing prayers, baptism, and the holy communion to be performed in the mother-tongue. The reformers were so dutiful, that they sent Mr. Erskine of Dun to this convention, with the same requests they had presented to the queen-regent. The imminent dangers that then hung over popery in Scotland, instead of daunting its professors, seemed to

to render them more furious and intractable than ever; and Erskine was dismissed with insults and threats. As the performance of all the assurances which the reformers had received from the regent, depended entirely upon her own good faith and honour, a new supplication was prepared to be presented to the parliament. Its substance was "to disable churchmen from being both judges and parties in their own causes, at least, until a general council of the church, lawfully assembled, should decide the present controversies in religion; that in such cases, a churchman might accuse, but judgment was to be left to the civil magistrates, and that the accused parties should be proceeded with according to the law; that every man should be at liberty to explain his own meaning in matters of religion, and that none of the congregation be condemned for heresy, unless they be convicted, by the word of God, to have erred from the faith, which the Holy Scripture witnesseth to be necessary to salvation."

Farther demands of the reformers.

The queen-regent with great art and address, diverted the parties from presenting this petition to parliament, on pretext of the unsettled state of affairs, and the great power of the ecclesiastics in that assembly. They offered, indeed, a protest, in which they complained of the wickedness and insufficiency of the popish clergy, and exculpating themselves from all the consequences of popular insurrections, by

Artful conduct of the queen-regent.

A.D. 1558. their petition not being received, and of the severe laws that had been made against them; concluding, that since they had nothing in their view, but the purity of their religion, that they should not be looked upon as factious and seditious, but as dutiful and loyal subjects. This protest (a copy of which may be found in Spotswood) was undoubtedly a defiance to the civil authority, and it was not suffered to be entered upon the public records. The queen-regent, however, softened the petitioners, by assuring them, that she would remember the substance of their protest, and that they should be no sufferer by its not being admitted. But this was far from being the case; and from the time of their presenting it, she secretly resolved to be their enemy; influenced, no doubt, by the violent counsels of her brothers, and kinsmen. The truth is, it was not now in her option to be neutral, far less to countenance or patronize, as she hitherto had done, the heads of the reformed. She plainly saw, that their concessions had been made merely on the strength of her promises, and in complaisance to her person. The terms in which their protest was drawn up, discovered, that it would be no longer in her power to manage them; and she had only to chuse, whether she would be the head of a party, or break with the crown of France. She could not hesitate at this option; but made
dispositions

dispositions for breaking off her connections with the reformers, if possible, in a decent, moderate manner. A.D. 1558.

For this purpose, she invited all the ecclesiastics in the kingdom, who had any reputation as to learning, morals, or capacity, to meet in a synod or convocation at Edinburgh, to consult about the Reformation of the church. This synod assembled on the second of March, 1559. The congregation were permitted to present to her majesty (who had great influence over the meeting) a set of articles for her approbation, containing the following heads. First, that public prayers be conceived, and the sacraments administered, in the vulgar tongue. Second, That bishops be elected by consent of the gentry of the diocese, and parish priests by consent of the parishioners. Third, that all insufficient incumbents be discharged, and replaced by others more able. Fourth, That all immoral ignorant churchmen should be excluded from administering the sacraments, and performing ecclesiastical functions. Those requests admitted of great debate, the result of which, was such as might have been expected from an interested, ignorant, bigotted assembly of churchmen. They declared in their answer, that it would be violating the majesty of God, to admit of any other than the Latin language in public prayers; that they would not depart from

1559.

Keith.

Obstinacy
of the po-
pish clergy.

A.D. 1559. from the canon law, as to the election of bishops and pastors ; and that they would abide by the decrees of the council of Trent, concerning the other contents of the articles.

Proceedings
of the re-
formers ;

The queen-regent, at this time, seems to have been determined, implicitly, to follow the dictates of her brothers, and the French court. She had, more than once, publicly declared, that being now free from the scruples that had formerly disturbed her, she was resolved to restore the church to its antient authority, which it had, of late times, lost. The reformed considered her words as importing, that she was resolved to restore popery, with all its horrors, and to rekindle the flames of persecution. The force of enthusiasm was not wanting to inspirit their conduct ; for the famous John Knox was now returned to Scotland, and openly preached at Perth. He inveighed, in his sermons, against all prudential considerations that might check the progress of the Reformation, which, he said, ought to take the lead of all the respect that was due to secular powers and dignities. The congregation, notwithstanding his exhortations, proceeded with surprizing moderation. Though they were no strangers to the queen-regent's defection from their party, they deputed the earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbel of Loudon, sheriff of Air, to wait upon her majesty, and mildly to lay before her the imprudence

dence and bad policy of molesting their ministers, unless they preached unsound doctrine, or behaved themselves in a disorderly manner. A. D. 1559.

Her answer spoke the sentiments of her family and party; for flying in a passion she told them, "that, maugre their hearts, and all that would take part with them, these ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever St. Paul did." The two deputies begged leave to remind her of her promises. Her answer was, "that the performance of the promises of princes was no farther to be urged, than was consistent with their own conveniency." The deputies considered this despotic, perfidious reply, as a declaration of her real intentions, and rejoined with great firmness, "If this be the conclusion Ibid. which you have taken, that you will keep no promises to the subjects, we cannot any longer acknowledge your authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniencies may arise of this, you may be-think yourself." So resolute a speech daunted the queen-regent; and resuming a milder manner, she told them, "she would consider of what they had represented, and remedy the evils they had complained of, in the tenderest and most effectual manner."

Scarcely had the deputies parted from the queen-regent, when she was informed, that one of the reformed ministers (Knox, I suppose)

who are
persecuted,
but escape.

A. D. 1559. was publicly preaching at Perth. She sent for the lord Ruthven, who was provost of that town, and commanded him to suppress those tumults and innovations in religion. Ruthven, who was himself a congregationist, answered, that "he should subject the bodies and goods of the offenders to her majesty, but that he had no power over their minds and consciences." The queen-regent was the more nettled at this behaviour, as she had been at uncommon pains to enforce the celebration of the mass, and all the popish ceremonies, during the Easter holidays, in the towns of Perth, Montrose, Dundee, and other places, best affected to the Reformation. Her orders, far from being obeyed, were disregarded; and in a few days she received accounts, with the greatest mortification and disquiet of spirit, that the exercise of the royal prerogative had rendered the people more tumultuous, and the more backward to obey it. She ordered Haliburton, who was provost of Dundee, to apprehend one Paul Methven, who had exchanged the profession of a baker, for that of a reformed preacher, and to send him prisoner to her. Methven, secretly premonished by Haliburton, escaped. But I am now to prepare the reader for the great events which followed, by introducing him to a short state of affairs in England, and upon the continent.

Elizabeth had now surmounted great difficulties in restoring the protestant service in England; and had most artfully made use of her capital enemy, the king of Spain, for counterbalancing the party of the Scotch queen, both in her own dominions, and upon the continent. She had placed Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a faithful, penetrating, minister, as her embassador, but, in reality, employed as a spy, at the French court. He arrived there about the time that the king-dauphin and his queen had ratified a late treaty between France and Spain; and when the intelligence received from Scotland had filled all France with warlike preparations, which, as Throgmorton informed Cecil, were designed against the Scotch reformers. The queen of Scotland was, at this time, in so bad a state of health, that it was thought those armaments were carrying on for executing, in case of her death, the secret engagements she had entered into with her father-in-law, before her marriage. This intelligence served only to encrease the secret connexions that had been already formed between Elizabeth and the lords of the congregation. Cecil had an intercourse, by letters, with Knox, while he was abroad; but that reformer having written a book against the government of England, entitled, *The first Blast of the Trumpet*, Elizabeth appeared to be so much offended, that he durst not venture to

A. D. 1559.

Queen Elizabeth joins with the congregation.

Letter from the embassadors, dated at Paris, May 24, in the Paper-Office.

A. D. 1559. travel through England to Scotland in his return. She was soon convinced, that all his indiscreet zeal had been levelled at her sister Mary queen of England, the queen-regent of Scotland, and her daughter. She therefore gave orders for Cecil to keep up his correspondence with Knox, and to fix him in her interest.

Their
heads.

Among all the heads of the Reformation now in Scotland, none distinguished themselves more than the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, commonly called the lord James. They seem to have accepted the office of carrying the matrimonial crown to the king-dauphin, only that they might balk the performance; and, in fact, they were so ingenious in finding pretexts for their delays, that it never was sent. The court of France, for that reason, had devoted those two noblemen to destruction; and it was resolved to take them off either by violence or treachery; but the execution of this inhuman purpose was suspended by the humanity of the queen-regent. Elizabeth, in order to check the prevalence of the French party in Scotland, took advantage of an armistice, which had been signed on the eighteenth of March, to open a correspondence with the duke of Chatleheraut, by means of Sir Henry Piercy, brother to the duke of Northumberland. This correspondence is scarcely mentioned by any of the Scotch historians;

A. D. 1559.

rians ; and might have remained still a secret, had it not been discovered by the original letters, which remain in the Paper-Office, the British Museum, and other repositories in England. Piercy did not fail to lay before the duke, the dangerous state of his own, and his family's, accession to the crown of Scotland, through the great encrease of the French power there, and the numerous fortifications they were erecting to bridle the kingdom. He then proceeded to hint at a league between the crown of England, and the reformed party in Scotland. The duke was far from being so sanguine on those heads as Elizabeth either hoped or expected. He seemed to be under no apprehensions about his succession, during queen Mary's life-time ; nor about the French forts, which he said, without the assistance of the Scots, could not be supplied with garrisons. With regard to the league, he declared with great warmth, that he and all his friends would take part with Elizabeth, if the French should ever become so powerful in Scotland, as to prevail with his countrymen to become aggressors in any quarrel that the French might have with England.

Elizabeth then applied to the duke's son, the earl of Arran, who was then in France, through the agency of Throgmorton. This young nobleman was, by principle, a protestant, and was captain of the Scotch
G 2 guards

The lord
Hamilton
escapes out
of France.

A.D. 1559. guards in France, a post of great honour and consequence; but his prudence could not be depended upon. He had been flattered with the thoughts of marrying Elizabeth; and Throgmorton succeeded perfectly well in bringing him over to his views. Noailles, the French ambassador at the court of England, discovered this secret correspondence, and gave intelligence of it to his master, who ordered the earl to attend him. Arran, though twice summoned, secreted himself, and was concealed by Throgmorton, through whose management he, at last, made his escape to Geneva, and from thence into England, where he had some secret interviews with Elizabeth, who, he had no doubt, intended to make him her husband, as appears by his letters to that princess, which are still extant. The earl of Arran's concealment in England, did not escape the penetration of Noailles. He charged Elizabeth's ministry with having assisted in secreting him; and he informed the queen-regent of a private treaty which had been entered into between the earl and Elizabeth, by which the earl was to be made king of Scotland by Elizabeth, from whom he was to hold his crown, paying her an annual tribute; and, at the same time, he was to deliver into her hands Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dunbar, and Inch-Keith, then called L'isleaux Chevaux, or the island of horses. Noailles, in the same dispatch, acquaints the queen-

queen-regent, that Elizabeth had declined all the propositions of marriage made by the earl. There can be little doubt, that if such a treaty was proposed, and agreed to, it was only with a view of amusing the earl of Arran, who was a nobleman susceptible of the most gross impositions.

A. D. 1559.

It was the misfortune of Scotland at this time, that no medium could be found to conciliate the different parties in the government. The Guises, and the French court, had formed their ambitious, bloody plan, for maintaining popery, and establishing their right of succession to the crown of Scotland, in case of Mary's death. Knox, on the other hand, was violent and intractable, and had obtained an influence over the vulgar, which the moderate nobility, who favoured the Reformation, could not controul. A third party existed, more powerful perhaps than both: It consisted of those who saw and despised popery so much, though they had been bred in that persuasion, that they had contracted a contempt for all religion, and were desirous of any reformation that could put them in possession of the spoils, both of church and state. It was easy for the last mentioned party to make tools of Knox and his enthusiasts, by pretending to adopt their zeal for Reformation.

Parties among the reformed.

The old constable, Montmorenci, was the only subject of France, who had credit and popularity

Divisions in France.

A. D. 1559. popularity sufficient to balance the credit of the Guises. He was supported by the duchess of Valentinois, the almost superannuated mistress of Henry the second, but in absolute possession of his affections, and jealous of the influence of the Guises. Her ascendancy over Henry soon convinced him, that he had rendered them too powerful for subjects; and Montmorenci's weight at the council-board, disposed Henry to keep well with the queen of England, and to give her full satisfaction in all her reasonable complaints. It was even resolved to strike the title of king of England out of the king-dauphin's designations; but as the measures of the reformed gave a great handle of complaint against their loyalty, as subjects, the constable himself agreed, that they ought to be reduced by force. For that purpose it had been resolved to recall the queen-regent, and to send over the marquis D'Elbeuf, a violent hot-headed nobleman, with a large army to Scotland; and levies for that purpose were actually begun. The constable, however, had credit enough with his master, to suspend those preparations, till Melvil, (the author of the memoirs under his name) who was then at the French court, should be dispatched to Scotland; and, after having a private interview with Elizabeth, inform himself as to the state of the country; and whether the prior of St. Andrew's had made any declaration of his

his pretensions to the crown. Before those resolutions could be executed, the French king was accidentally killed in a tournament on the last day of June. I am now obliged to return to the affairs of Scotland.

There can scarcely be a question, that the queen-regent knew of the resolution to recall her from the government of Scotland. I do not find that this measure was very violently opposed, even by her brothers, the Guises, who thought she had been too complying towards the reformers. Family affection, however, conquered all the scruples that had been dictated by prudence; and she fell in, at once, with the views of her relations. Finding that the civil magistrates had evaded the execution of her commands, and that the congregation, had, in fact, disclaimed her authority, she cited all the protestant ministers, throughout the kingdom, to appear at Stirling on the tenth of May. It is immaterial whether this citation was published before or after the conferences, I have already mentioned, between her and the heads of the congregation; for it certainly brought matters to a crisis. The congregation, without entering into any ridiculous paper war with the queen-regent, resolved to obey the summons; but prepared themselves and their followers to attend their ministers on the day appointed. They accordingly advanced from Angus, Merns, and the

Severity of
the queen-
regent.

inte-

A. D. 1559. interior parts of the country, in a body of some thousands, to Perth, from whence they dispatched Erskine, of Dun, to the queen-regent at Stirling, to inform her that they were come thither in a body, to make confession of their faith, with their preachers, and to assist them in their just defence. This declaration, in contempt of civil authority, could not be vindicated in a cause less important, than the civil and religious liberties of a people; and her majesty was obliged to dissemble. She knew that Erskine, though a determined friend to the Reformation, was a man of prudence and principle, and well affectioned towards her daughter's family; she was likewise no stranger to the numbers or resolution of the insurgents, and that she was then in no condition to oppose them. She therefore mildly desired Erskine to use his endeavours to persuade them to depart homewards, promising, that all proceedings against the ministers should be stopped. Erskine, upon his return to Perth, executed this commission with so much success, that the common people departed to their several homes, and none but the gentlemen, and their ministers, remained at Perth, while Erskine returned to court.

Her indefensible conduct.

The subsequent conduct of the queen-regent was indefensible; for, notwithstanding her promise, when the twentieth of May elapsed, and the ministers did not appear, they were declared

clared rebels, and guilty of high treason. Erskine, upon this, left the court, and repaired to Perth, where he apologized, in the best manner he could, for his past conduct; but fairly told them, that they were to expect neither favour nor sincerity from the queen-regent; and that they ought to prepare against the worst. Nothing could be more agreeable, than this declaration was to the sentiments of Knox, who was then at Perth. The very day after the denunciation, he preached a sermon against idolatry, in so warm and popular a strain, that the people became intractable. A priest, at this dangerous crisis, prepared to celebrate mass; a boy opposed him, and a scuffle ensued, which terminated in the rascal multitude (as they are named by Calderwood, who was himself a learned, but zealous, presbyterian) destroying all the apparatus for the mass, and every vestige of idolatry (for so popery was called) in the church. From thence they proceeded to the houses of the Grey and Black friars, and levelled those venerable, but sumptuous, edifices with the ground, to the irreparable loss of the public, and the indelible reproach of the Reformation. Those barbarities were the mere effects of enthusiasm; and I am therefore the more inclined to believe, with Calderwood and Knox, that none of the creditable reformers converted any part of the spoils to their own profit; and that all the sacrileges of that kind were committed by the

A. D. 1559.

Calderwood.

Demolition of religious houses.

A.D. 1559. needy unprincipled rabble. Archbishop Spotswood, whose testimony ought to go far on this occasion, says, that the houses of the Grey and Black friars (the Franciscans and Dominicans) were so well stored with provision and furniture, that it plainly proved their vows of poverty to have been feigned and counterfeit. The same moderate prelate says, that the wealth of the Carthusian house surpassed both; and yet the prior was permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and silver plate, and that the remaining spoil was given to the poor. This disinterestedness, amidst such tumultuous proceedings, is rarely to be met with in history; and as it is uncontradicted by their enemies, it redounds greatly to the honour of the Scotch reformers.

The example of the Perthians, was followed by the inhabitants of Cupar in Fife, who, in like manner, destroyed every appearance of popery. It is to be lamented, that their rage was not confined to superstitious trinkets and exhibitions; for archbishop Spotswood says, that the speed they made in demolishing the edifices was admirable; and that in two days time, the sumptuous large charter-house at Perth was not only ruined, but the stones and timber so quickly taken away, that a vestige thereof was scarce remaining to be seen.

When

When we make an allowance for this first effusion of violence, which (every circumstance considered) was natural, the progress of the Scotch reformers was far from being so indefensible as it has been represented by Keith, and some other writers. The young earl of Argyle, (the chancellor earl being then dead) and the prior of St. Andrew's, disapproved of the ravages that had been committed, and joined the queen-regent, in hopes of being still able to prevent matters from coming to that extremity, which the resentment of the queen-regent gave them cause to apprehend. She summoned all the nobility, the duke of Chatleheraut particularly, to attend her at Stirling, to which place D'Oyssel marched at the head of the French troops. From Stirling she went with them, and the Scotch she had raised, towards Perth, in hopes of surprizing the insurgents: but in this they were deceived; for they proceeded in a manner that proved them to be directed by able heads.

A.D. 1559.

Opposed by
the queen-
regent.

Knox still kept up his private correspondence with Cecil in England, and was no stranger to the moderate disposition of the French court, and the growing aversion of that king (Henry the second being then alive) towards the Guises. The congregationists drew up four addresses, one to the queen-regent, another to the French soldiers, another to the Scotch no-

A.D. 1559.

Inconsistency of the reformers.

Keith.

Ibid.

Ibid.

bility residing with the queen, and the fourth to the clergy. In the first, they professed all kind of loyalty and obedience to their sovereign; but still with a reservation of conscience in religious matters, and even threatened to lay their case before the French king, if the queen-regent should employ force against them. Their address to D'Oyffel and the French soldiers was manly and spirited, worthy of an independent people: they advised them "not to use violence against them, nor to provoke them to enmity; for that if they should enter into war, the same should remain longer than their own lives, even as long as Scottish men should have power to take revenge." They particularly represented to D'Oyffel, "That he declared himself no faithful servant to his master, the king of France, if for the pleasure of the priests, he would persecute them; and so compel them to take the sword of just defence." In their address to the Scotch nobility, they pleaded religion and conscience for all the enormities that had been committed at Perth; and addressing themselves to such of them as had embraced the Reformation, they told them, "That as they are reputed already traitors by God, they shall likewise be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God, by his mighty power, hath erected among them;

them; whose ministers have the same power A. D. 1559.
 which Christ Jesus granted to his apostles in
 these words: Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall
 be forgiven; and whose sins ye shall retain,
 shall be retained." It must be acknowledged,
 that this was a doctrine that came with a very
 bad grace from the reformers. The address to
 the clergy seems to have been drawn up en-
 tirely by Knox, as it breathes nothing but fury
 and vengeance; and would be unworthy of a
 place in history, had it not been for the pro-
 vocations that occasioned it, and the repeated
 murders committed by those ecclesiastics.

The queen-regent, notwithstanding all their
 remonstrances, advanced with her army to
 Ochterarder, within ten miles of Perth, where
 it encamped; and the earl of Argyle, the lord
 James, prior of St. Andrew's, with the lord
 Sempil, were dispatched to Perth, to enquire
 of the insurgents the reason of their assem-
 bling, and to know whether they intended to
 deny the queen-regent admittance into the
 town. They found, on the twenty-fourth of
 May, a body of the most zealous reformers,
 consisting of the gentlemen of Fife, Angus,
 and Merns, lying in an advanced post, without
 the town. The lay heads of the congrega-
 tion, in their conferences with the lords de-
 puties, complained of the queen-regent's harsh
 resolutions against their party, the execution
 of which, they said, they were determined to
 oppose;

*The queen-
 regent
 treats with
 them.*

A.D. 1559. oppose; but they declared, at the same time, that if she suffered the already begun Reformation to proceed, they intended to submit themselves, in every respect, to her commands. In the mean while, they entreated the lords deputies to lay their cause at the feet of her majesty, and to intercede in their behalf. Those were, at best, but equivocal professions, and intended to gain time. The answer returned by Knox next day, when he harangued the lords deputies, was plain, simple, and could admit of only one interpretation. He told them, that the queen-regent's rage was blind; that her religion was contrary to that of Jesus Christ; that she was fighting not against man, but against God; and that her enterprize could not prosper in the end.

Knox.

Keith.

During those conferences, the congregationists were assembling their friends from all quarters; and the earl of Glencairn, with incredible dispatch and difficulty, was on his march, from the shire of Air, with twelve hundred horse, and thirteen hundred foot, though the chief passes and forts of the country were in possession of the queen-regent's forces. The congregationists were at this time discouraged on seeing so many leaders of their party, all of them profest reformers, joining the queen-regent, who was at the head of seven thousand regular troops, Scotch and French; and one unsuccessful blow, more than
probably,

probably, must have been the ruin of their cause. The queen-regent was deceived by the earl of Glencairn's prodigious march, which, considering his impediments, she thought was impossible to be performed in so short a time, and she had imagined the congregationists would submit to her terms before his arrival. Perhaps she was encouraged in this belief by her deputies. Before the earl had joined his friends, she required them to send some persons to her camp, to confer with the duke of Chatleheraut and D'Oyffel, and treat of an accommodation.

Her request was complied with; and the deputies for the congregationists were Erskine of Dun, Ogilvy of Invercarity, and Scott of Abbotshall. All those were moderate men, and seemed compliable with the duke and D'Oyffel's demands, which were, that the town of Perth should be left open for the queen-regent, who was, in other respects, to act according to her own discretion. The deputies hinted at some farther provisions, and were dismissed with great politeness, to receive farther instructions. Scarcely had they left the queen-regent's camp, than she received certain intelligence, that the earl of Glencairn, having eluded all her outguards, was arrived at Perth with his army. His arrival may be said to have been critical for the cause of the Reformation in Scotland; for the town of Perth, till

A. D. 1559. till then, was in the most imminent danger of falling into the hands of their enemies; and that, together with the pass of Stirling, which she was already possessed of, would have given the queen-regent the most important advantages. She again sent the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, with the abbot of Kilwinning, to Perth; but though the earl of Glencairn, attended by the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the barons of Loudon, Cragie-Wallace, Cefnock, with other chief gentlemen of the West, had already arrived at Perth, and though the congregationists were now a full match for the queen-regent, yet their conduct was moderate to admiration, and their demands bounded by the strictest rules of patriotism and justice. When Knox upbraided the queen's commissioners (the earl of Argyle and the prior) with their defection, they declared, that all they laboured for, was a reasonable accommodation, and to prevent bloodshed; and that if she should violate any of the terms agreed on, they would be the first to take the field against her. Those assurances had such weight, that even Knox was brought over to agree to a treaty, which terminated in the following conditions : First, That both the armies should be disbanded; and the town left open to the queen. Second, That none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of the late alteration in religion. Third, That no Frenchmen should enter the town, nor
come

An accom-
modation.

come within three miles of it: And that when the queen retires, no French garrison shall be left in the town. Fourth, That all other controversies be referred to the next parliament.

Tho' those terms were agreed on; and tho' Knox returned public thanks to God, that the effusion of blood had been stopped, yet he prophetically foretold, that no part of the treaty would be kept longer than the queen-regent and her Frenchmen were in a condition to break it. The other heads of the congregation were of the same opinion; and before they evacuated Perth, they drew up a fresh association, which they called the second covenant, binding themselves, in the strongest terms, "not to spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever power that shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause." This instrument was signed by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the prior of St. Andrew's, and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree. On the thirtieth of May, the congregationists evacuated Perth, into which the queen-regent made a kind of triumphal entry. An incident which happened, gave a melancholy presage of her future intentions; for a young boy, son to one Mur-

Faithless
conduct of
the queen-
regent.

A.D. 1559. ray, a zealous reformer, being shot dead before his father's house, the queen-regent discovered no farther concern, than being sorry that the ball had not pierced the father instead of the son. The subsequent part of her conduct was answerable to this commencement. She broke every article of the capitulation, in three days time. Some of the most zealous citizens were banished, others were fined; the old magistrates were turned out, and the queen-regent nominated others to succeed them. Upon her leaving the town, she placed in it a garrison of six hundred Scots, in French pay, thinking thereby to elude that article of the capitulation, regarding the place not being held by Frenchmen. She, at last, is said to have thrown off the mask, and to declare, in the true Guisian stile, that no promises were to be kept with heretics. Some writers have affected to doubt the truth of this declaration; but I have mentioned it here, because it was confirmed by her actions. The best apology that can be made for her conduct is, that her great capacity and humanity were over-ruled, if not extinguished, by the arts of churchmen, and the affection she bore to her own country and family.

Keith.

Progress of
the Reformation.

The head-quarters of the congregationists, upon their evacuating Perth, was at St. Andrew's, which, though lately the seat of metropolitanical and ecclesiastical tyranny, was now
the

the center of the reformed interest; so effectually had the ignorance and cruelty of the clergy alienated the gentlemen and inhabitants of the neighbouring counties from popery. The earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, sensible of the queen-regent's perfidy, retired from Perth to that city; and, at their request, the new association was carried into execution. The queen-regent charged them, upon their allegiance, to return to Perth; but instead of obeying her, summonses were sent for all the reformed party to meet on the fourth of June at St. Andrew's, which they accordingly did; and they were joined by Knox. A few of his sermons soon infligated the rabble to pull down all the altars and images in the neighbourhood; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's hearing that Knox, on the following Sunday, intended to take possession of his cathedral, garrisoned it with a hundred men, commanded by himself. The queen-regent and the French were then at Falkland, at the distance of no more than twelve miles from St. Andrew's. The boldest of the lay-reformers thought it would be imprudent to dispossess the prelate of his pulpit. Knox, who was much better informed, persisted in his resolution to preach next Sunday in the metropolitan church, for which he gave several enthusiastical reasons, the better to conceal his real intentions, which he did not think proper

A. D. 1559. to publish. The archbishop found the minds of the inhabitants so alienated from popery, and so bent upon a reformation, that he thought proper next day to return to Falkland; and the sermon which Knox preached in the cathedral against popery, fired his hearers so much, that they not only plundered all the churches in the city, but demolished the houses of the Franciscan and Dominican friars.

The queen-regent made a new effort to support her daughter's, and her own, authority. She ordered a rendezvous of the French, and all the sensible Scotchmen in the neighbourhood, to be held at Cupar; but the heads of the congregation, taking possession of that place with a hundred horse, were next day three thousand strong; so that (to make use of Knox's homely, but emphatical, expressions) "it appeared as men had rained from the clouds." The queen-regent was then marching from Falkland, and had appointed the duke of Chatleheraut to be commander in chief of her army. It was outnumbered by the congregationists, who advanced to fight; and she had recourse, as usual, to a negotiation. The duke and the earl of Marishal conferred with the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's, and the duke demanded to know the terms on which the congregationists were willing to treat. They insisted, as a preliminary,

nary, upon the dismissal of the French troops out of Scotland, which her majesty said she could not agree to, without hearing from the French king; so that the conferences ended in a truce for eight days, and the bulk of the French returned to Falkland, till a more definitive treaty could be concluded at St. Andrew's. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Marishal, and the wisest of the queen-regent's friends, advised her to make use of this respite, by summoning a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, for removing all the national grievances. She was conscious of the rectitude of this measure; but her attachment to her family (who were, at that time, in great jeopardy at the court of France, chiefly on account of the affairs of Scotland) over-ruled her better judgment. Instead of sending commissioners to St. Andrew's, or convening a parliament, she did not even deign to answer the remonstrances sent by the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, upon the oppressions committed by the garrison, which, contrary to the capitulation, she had left at Perth, and the magistrates who had been substituted there, by her authority.

This disregard of their just representations, exasperated the congregationists; and they raised an army, which, notwithstanding all the arts of the queen-regent, reduced Perth

The reformers
raise an
army.

ON

A. D. 1559. on the twenty-fifth of June, and levelled to the ground the palace and abbey of Scone, one of the noblest edifices in Europe. Those outrages gave a handle for the queen-regent to pretend, that the reason why she disregarded the last capitulation was, because she knew the congregationists were preparing to besiege Perth. She had now so effectually forfeited the esteem of the public, that no regard was had to her declarations, and Knox had full scope for the exercise of his reforming spirit; for the fine abbey of Cambuskenneth, with all the churches and monasteries in Stirling, and its neighbourhood, were demolished, the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, having, with prodigious activity, gained possession of the pass over the Forth at Stirling, which laid all the southern counties of Scotland open to their visits. They did not fail to improve this advantage. Three hundred men, under the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrew's, passed the Forth, and, their numbers encreasing, committed the same devastations at Linlithgow, as they had in Stirlingshire. Their party soon amounted to five thousand, and they advanced to Edinburgh, where the queen-regent resided. She was inclined to have defended that capital; but was dissuaded by the lord Seton, provost of the town, who informed her, that the inhabitants,

inhabitants, in general, were on the side of the congregationists : upon which she removed to Dunbar. A. D. 1550.

It is with pain we recollect, that the progress of the reformers was attended by the demolition of the magnificent churches and religious houses wherever they passed. They pulled down the houses of the prebends of the collegiate church, which had been founded at Edinburgh by Mary of Gueldres. They plundered the palace and abbey of Holyrood-house ; and, lastly, they seized the irons of the mint, and coined some money for supplying their present exigencies, which were excessively craving. The queen-regent emitted a proclamation, in the name of her daughter, and the king-dauphin, by which she endeavoured to transfer the blame of all those disorders to the congregationists. She pretended, that she had offered to call a parliament for settling all religious disputes, and to grant liberty of conscience to all the insurgents ; and that they had been guilty of treason by their unlawful proceedings, especially in seizing the irons of the mint ; and commanding them, under the highest penalties, to evacuate the town of Edinburgh. The lords of the congregation published an answer in general, but very unsatisfactory terms, to this proclamation. It is not to be dissembled, that many of them were sensible they

A new treaty.

A.D. 1559. they had gone too far, and thought it high time, if possible, to conciliate the reformation of religion with their duty to government. They had, in their answer to the queen-regent's proclamations, declared, they were ready to confer in her presence, and to convince her, that they had no farther views than the reformation of religion. She took hold of this declaration, and desired the congregationists to explain themselves. They deputed the lairds of Pitarrow and Cunninghamhead to present their requests, which were, First, That they might enjoy a liberty of conscience. Second, That insufficient ministers be removed from ecclesiastical administrations. Third, That Christ be truly preached, and his sacraments rightly administered. Fourth, That their ministers be discharged from the process of treason, and be admitted to execute their office without molestation, until such time as, by a general council lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controversies about religion be decided. Fifth, That the French soldiers be sent home. The queen-regent treated those proposals with great plausibility, but desired to confer with other heads of the party; and the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ruthven and Ochiltree, with Pitarrow, were deputed for that purpose; and on the twelfth of July, they made their appearance before the queen-regent.

But

But it is here necessary to attend to what was passing at the French court, which was the main spring of the queen-regent's conduct. A.D. 1559

I am not authorized to say, that when she had the interview with the last-mentioned commissioners, she had received intelligence of Henry the second's death, which happened on the last day of June; and that her son-in-law was then possessed of the French crown. I am, by her conduct, inclined to believe, that she knew of that event; but that the French court was deceived, as to the affairs of Scotland. The French king's death had revived the Guisian interest; and the preparations for the duke D'Elbeuf's passing over to Scotland, were renewed with fresh vigour, though Melvil had not yet returned from Scotland to make his report. One of Throgmorton's dispatches mentions, that before the French king expired of his wound, the Guises held a consultation, where it was once more resolved to cut off the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other principal reformers; and orders were dispatched to Scotland for that purpose. The queen-regent, averse to sanguinary measures, observed a different conduct. She knew that the reforming party, whose army generally consisted of five thousand, could not long keep the field in a body; and, in the mean while, she took care to spread dissensions among their chiefs, by pretending, that the

AD. 1559. prior of St. Andrew's aspired to the crown. This had such an effect, that the congregationists were disunited, and many of them joined in a paper, disclaiming such rebellious intentions.

Correspondence between the reformers and the English ministry.

Secretary Cecil informed Argyle and the prior of their danger; and they refused to trust their persons with the queen-regent, who remained at Dunbar, and seemed desirous to treat with them particularly. The congregationists were still at Edinburgh; tho' diminished in their numbers, and divided in their councils, but they made no secret of the intelligence they had received from Cecil, concerning the earl of Argyle and the prior. As the queen-regent appeared sincerely disposed for an accommodation, it was agreed, that a conference should be held at Preston, in East Lothian. The commissioners for the congregationists were the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, the prior of St. Andrew's, with the lairds of Dun, and Pitarrow. Those for the queen-regent were the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Huntley, the lords Erskine and Somerville, the commendator of Kilwinning, and the justice-clerk. Each party was attended by a guard of a hundred men, and both seemed well disposed for an agreement. The queen-regent made no objection towards tolerating the congregationists in the free exercise of

of their religion, provided they abstained from it in the places where she and her court resided, and gave way to the mass. She was the more peremptory on this head, as she had certain intelligence, that many of the congregation had left Edinburgh; and that those who remained were inconsiderable, either for numbers or discipline. They rejected, however, the terms she proposed, resolving to remain in Edinburgh all winter, and to keep possession of the mint. The queen-regent complained of their conduct, as being treasonable, and they justified themselves by printed manifestoes; but on the twenty-third of July, she marched from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and surprized Leith. The lords of the congregation being too generous to save themselves by flight, and thereby expose their friends, at Edinburgh, to the resentment of the queen-regent, put themselves at the head of the citizens, and made dispositions for engaging her army between Leith and Edinburgh; but they were disconcerted by a threatening message, sent them from the lord Erskine, governor of the castle.

That nobleman disliked the violent proceedings of some of the congregationists, and threatened to fire upon the town, if they opposed the queen-regent's entering it. By this time, her soldiers were directing their march towards the west-gate, which they proposed

An accom-
modation.

A.D. 1559. to enter; and the congregationists, to avoid the effusion of blood, thought it most prudent to treat. The queen-regent, notwithstanding her successes, and her being in daily expectation of a fresh supply of troops from France, appeared moderate in her demands. Such of the congregationists as did not reside at Edinburgh, agreed to evacuate that town. The mint house, and its irons, with the palace of Holyrood-house, were delivered up to her majesty, and the reformers promised to behave as dutiful subjects to her daughter. A truce between both parties was to take place, from the twenty-fourth of July, to the tenth of January following; and, during that time, the congregationists were to offer no molestation to the established clergy. The queen-regent, on her part, was not to molest the preachers of the protestant religion, of which they were to have the free exercise in Edinburgh, and all over the kingdom; and neither French nor Scotch soldiers were to be quartered in that town. Such were the heads of this accommodation; which was signed on the twenty-fifth of July by the duke of Chatleherant, the earl of Huntley, and D'Oyffel, on the part of the queen-regent. As no express stipulation had been made for the French troops evacuating Scotland, she was in hopes that her compliances would have prevented her from being pressed on that subject; but she was deceived.

The

The heads of her own party, particularly the duke of Chateleraut, considered it as a measure unconnected with the affairs of religion, and necessary for preserving the independency of their country; and entered into a solemn engagement, to oblige the queen-regent, if necessary, to agree to such evacuation. A.D. 1559.

When the congregationists left Edinburgh, they repaired to Stirling, where they entered into a third covenant, that none of them would treat separately with the queen-regent, or enter into any correspondence with her, but by the consent of them all. They likewise agreed, that if they were farther persecuted by the queen-regent, they would apply to foreigners for protection and assistance, and especially to the English, who were of the same religion as themselves. Those resolutions were dictated by the sudden alteration of the queen-regent's behaviour, upon the accession of her son-in-law to the throne of France, and her receiving fresh assurances from thence, of being liberally supplied both with men and money. The insolence of the French soldiers became now intolerable, even to the loyal party, who were devoted to the queen-regent and her daughter. The former affected to observe the capitulation of Leith; but they made such disturbances, during divine service, round the churches which the reformed kept possession of, as indicated a resolution to break the truce. The queen-regent,

The reformers retire to Stirling.

A.D. 1559. gent, herself, sent several messages, desiring the use of the high church for the celebration of the mass, but was always flatly refused; and, at last, Mr. Knox and his congregation retired to Stirling, leaving his colleague, Willocks, to preach at Edinburgh.

Their melancholy situation.

In the beginning of September, the affairs of the Scotch reformers wore a melancholy aspect; but they were somewhat relieved by the assurances they received from Cecil, that his mistress, the queen of England, was resolved to befriend them. She had, by means of Throgmorton, and her other agents, discovered, that the duke of Chatleheraut and his son (who is sometimes called the earl of Arran, and sometimes lord Hamilton) had likewise been devoted to destruction by the Guises; but the young nobleman, who had been so long secreted in England, was dispatched to Scotland, to secure his father in the interest of the congregationists, which he thoroughly effected; and the duke retired to his country-house to wait a favourable opportunity for his resentment, by the assistance promised him by Cecil. That great minister's zeal for his mistress, and abhorrence of the Guisians, created him many difficulties at the English council-board. Elizabeth, herself, was not without her scruples, about supporting subjects against their lawful sovereign; and they were encouraged by three of her greatest statesmen, the earl of Arundel, secretary

tary Petre, and Sir John Mason, all of them papists, but in high credit with their mistress. The Guises pretended, at the same time, that they would give her all the satisfaction she should require, concerning Francis and Mary making use of the English arms; and a conference was held at a place called Upsalington, in the North of England, where all differences, in regard to the execution of the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, were settled by the commissioners on both sides. We are even told, that the French king for some time desisted from using the English arms. This compromise was by no means agreeable to Cecil, who complained to Throgmorton, that "the queen (to use his own expression) was against the whole business of Scotland." But if that was ever her real sentiment, she soon had cause to alter it.

Letter from
Throgmorton to Elizabeth,
July 13.

In the beginning of September, Le Croc, a French agent, arrived in Scotland, to acquaint the queen-regent, that the armament, under D'Elbeuf, was in great forwardness; and that, in a few days, about a thousand French soldiers under the command of one Octavian, would land at Leith, with a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, with some persons of experience in government, to assist her with their counsels. Le Croc, at the same time, delivered to the prior of St. Andrew's two letters, one from the French king, and another from the queen,

Preparations in
France to
reduce
them.

A.D. 1559. queen, reproaching him, in the most bitter terms, for his ungrateful behaviour, and threatening him with the severest punishment, if he persisted in fomenting the troubles of Scotland. Those letters were enforced by a verbal message, delivered to the prior by Le Croc, that the French king would rather lose his crown, than not be revenged of the seditious tumults raised in Scotland. The prior answered the letters with great firmness, "That he was no way conscious to himself of any undutifulness, either in word or deed, against his sovereign's laws: that it was true he had joined himself with those of the nobility who went about the reforming of religion, and would not deny it; but this he did not esteem a fault against the king or queen, for thereby nothing is sought but the advancement of God's honour, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, from which if he should desert, it were, in effect, to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then, this cause only excepted, he and the rest, who were charged with the crime of rebellion, should, in all other things, be most obsequent." The prior was then at Dumbarton; and he sent the above letter, open, to the queen-regent, who having perused it, said, "That she believed such a proud and rebellious answer was never given to a king and queen."

French
troops arrive in
Scotland.

In a few days, Octavian arrived with the promised supplies of men and money at Leith;
and

and the queen-regent gave orders for immediately fortifying that town and harbour. She now perceived, that this reinforcement was far from being adequate to her exigencies; and she sent Octavian back to solicit a farther, and more powerful, supply, without losing a moment's time. Finding that the heads of the congregation continued their meetings, she sent fresh invitations to the duke of Chatleheraut, and the other lords of that party, to treat of an accommodation; and even offered some of them, particularly the duke, and the prior of St. Andrew's, their own terms, if they would detach themselves from their connections with the reformed: but all of them remained unmoved, and steady to their cause. They now thought, that religion was not the only point in question, and that their civil liberties were equally in danger, from the conduct of the French court and the queen-regent. No parliament was sitting, to which they could apply for relief, and they were governed by a foreign power; so that every principle of self-defence concurred in justifying their opposition.

On the tenth of September, the lords of the congregation, according to appointment, met at Stirling, where they were joined by the lord Hamilton, eldest son to the duke of Chatleheraut. Those two noblemen were fully sensible of the danger they had escaped,

Strength of
the re-
formed.

A.D. 1559. and farther exasperated against the French court, by the second son of the family being lately imprisoned at Paris. From Stirling the lords of the congregation removed to Hamilton, where the duke of Chatleheraut resided, and a perfect reconciliation, of some differences among them, being effected by the lord Hamilton's mediation, the duke was afterwards looked upon as the head of the congregation. A letter was sent to the queen-regent, expostulating with her upon her conduct, and admonishing her to desist from introducing foreigners to lord it over the nation, lest she should drive them to extremities. This letter was signed, on the twenty-ninth of September, by the duke and his son, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Menteith, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, and others. It brought on a kind of paper war, consisting of proclamations, remonstrances, declamations, and other pieces, the contents of which would be too tedious to mention here. It is sufficient to say, that the queen-regent, in the end, directly charged the duke of Chatleheraut and his family with aspiring to the crown; and, by the information of Noailles, the French ambassador in England, accused them, not only of soliciting assistance from Elizabeth, but from other powers upon the continent. Her proclamations, of this kind, made an impression upon the public, not so much from any regard

regard paid to her, as from the dislike which many of the congregationists, especially of the south, had to the person of the duke of Chatleheraut, for having so often changed his party. A. D. 1559.

As the queen-regent had given orders for fortifying Leith, that it might serve as a landing-place for the French, the lords of the congregation seized upon Broughty-castle, for the like purpose of receiving supplies from England, and for covering from insults the towns of Dundee, Perth, St. Andrew's, Montrose, and other places, where the strength of their party lay. This produced fresh complaints from the queen-regent, who accused the duke of presuming to name the magistrates of those and other boroughs, and even of stopping the provisions that were necessary for maintaining herself and her family. They recriminated, by partly denying the charge, and partly retorting the like practices upon the queen-regent herself. At last, they came to a resolution of dislodging the French from Perth, and repaired to Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of October, for that purpose: upon which, the queen-regent threw herself into the garri-
son of Perth.

The lords of the congregation were not joined by the numbers they expected at Edinburgh; and it was thought proper, that the duke should solemnly purge himself of all am-
bitious

Prepara-
tions for
war.

The re-
formers
seize Edin-
burgh.

A.D. 1559. bitious views on the crown, which he accordingly did, by sound of trumpet, at the cross of that capital. In the mean while, Nicholas de Pelue, bishop of Amiens, afterwards a cardinal, attended by three doctors of the Sorbonne, arrived in Scotland; but what was of greater importance, they were under the convoy of two thousand French, who were commanded by De Brosse. This did not prevent the congregationists of Edinburgh from once more peremptorily requiring the queen-regent to dismantle the fortifications of Leith, and to dismiss her French troops. Her answer to this message, is a justification of the congregationists. She sent Lyon, king at arms, to acquaint the lords, that there was no occasion to make a conquest of Scotland by force, because it was already a conquest * by marriage; and that the Frenchmen were not strangers, because they had been naturalized. She charged the duke with having broken his promise, and commanded, that he and all his assistants should directly leave Edinburgh, under pain of high treason. Those instructions to the lord Lyon, were accompanied by a short note

* It may be here proper to inform the reader, that, in the language of the Scotch law, the word Conquest signifies no more than an acquisition; but even this consideration does not justify the queen-regent, because the civil acquisition of Scotland, by the crown of France, had been provided against by public acts; not to mention, that the cession of the crown matrimonial had never been executed.

from the queen-regent, importing, that their letter to her, appeared rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that bear authority. A.D. 1559.

Though it was plain, from the queen-regent's despotic stile, that she thought herself now too strong to observe any farther measures with her adversaries, yet even this consideration was so far from daunting, that it confirmed them in their purposes. The lord Lyon was ordered to wait for the result of their deliberations; and a grand council of the party was called, in which the lord Ruthven presided. The question which he put to the assembly, after having declared the occasion of their meeting, was short and sensible, "Whether she that so contemptuously refused the most humble request of the born counsellors of the realm, being also but a regent, whose pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be suffered so tyrannically to domineer over them?" The reverence which the members of this assembly (more numerous than many preceding parliaments) bore towards their preachers, did not suffer them to give any decisive opinion of this new and interesting question, without consulting Knox and Willocks. The opinion of the latter was for immediately deposing the queen-regent from her office. Knox agreed with his brother, but with the following remarkable reservation: "That
the

*Intrepidity
of the re-
formers.*

A. D. 1559. the iniquity and disorder of the queen-regent ought in no wise to withdraw our hearts, nor the hearts of other subjects, from the obedience due unto our sovereigns. Next, That if we deposed the said queen-regent, rather from malice and private envy, than for the preservation of the commonwealth, and for that her sins appeared incurable; that we should not escape God's just punishment, howsoever that she had deserved rejection from honours. And in the last place he required, that no such sentence should be pronounced against her; but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the commonwealth, and submission to the nobility, place should be granted unto her of regress to the same honours, from the which, for just causes, she justly might be deprived."

I do not find that any considerable regard was paid to the above reservation. Each particular member of the assembly being called upon, joined in opinion for the deprivation, which was engrossed as an act and decree of council. A letter, which the reader will find in the notes *, was, at the same time, drawn up, and

* Please your Grace,

We have received your answer, and heard the credit of Lyon king of arms; whereby we gather sufficiently your perseverance in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native country. For saving of the which, according unto our duties, we have, in our sovereign lord and lady's name, suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby;
being

transmitted to the queen-regent. Notwithstanding the unanimity of the assembly in the decla- A. D. 1559

being most assuredly perswaded, that your proceedings are directly contrary to our soverain lord and lady's will; which we ever esteem to be for the weal, and not for the hurt, of this our commonwealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge us, our soverain lord and lady's true barons and lieges, for your subjects, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawfull magistrate unto us; seeing, if any authority you have, by reason of our soverain's commission, granted unto your grace, the same, for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended by us, by name of authority (Knox, in the name and authority) of our soverains, whose counsell we are of native birth, in the affairs of this our commonweal. And forasmuch as we are determined, with the hazard of our lives, to sett that town at liberty, wherein you have most wrongfully planted your soldiers and strangers; for the reverence we owe to your person, as mother to our soverain lady, we require your grace to transport your person therefrom; seeing we are constrained, by the necessity of the commonwealth, to force the same by arms, being denied liberty thereof, by sundry requests made before: Your grace would cause depart with you, out of the said town, any person having commission of ambassade, if any such be, or lieutenantship of our soverains, together with all Frenchmen, soldiers, being within the same; whose blood we thirst-not, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the marriage of our soverain lady to the king of that realm, should rather increase than decrease. And this we pray your grace and them to do, within the space of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we owe unto your persons. And thus, recommending our humble service to your grace, we commit your highness to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the twenty-third of October.

By your Grace's humble serviteurs,

The council having the authority unto the next parliament, erected by common election of the earls, lords, and barons, convened at Edinburgh, of the protestant faction.

Earls.

My lord-duke's grace, and earl of Arran.

The earl of Argyle.

The earl of Glencairn.

Lords

A.D. 1559. ration, yet there is the strongest reason, even from archbishop Spotswood's Narrative, to believe, that the principles and grounds upon which it was founded, admitted of great debate. The principles of civil liberty were no longer secrets to the public, and many excellent writings had been lately published on that head. The examples of resistance to princes, urged by the congregationists, were not confined to the Jewish theocracy, but drawn from ancient and modern constitutions, to be met with in profane history, founded on the maxims of self-preservation, political independency, and the dignity of human nature. Such were the grounds upon which this assembly proceeded. The charges brought against the queen-regent were not so much for having violated their religious, as their civil, liberties. She had, it must be confessed, made great and important concessions to the former; and the heads of the congregation very properly thought, that the deprivation would appear to be an indefensible measure, if too great stress was laid upon the difference

Lords.

James of St. Andrew's.
The lord Ruthven.
The master of Maxwell.

Barons.

Tullibardine.
The laird of Dun.
The laird of Pitarrow.
The provost of Aberdeen, for the Burrows.

Keith's Hist. of Scot. p. 105.

between

between them and the queen-regent, in matters of religion. Upon the whole, when all circumstances are considered, never was any defection from government better warranted, by provocation, than that of the Scots at this time.

It is amazing with what prudence and vigour the queen-regent still continued to act. Her intelligence was so good, that she knew the weakness of her enemies; that they were united in no principle, but in their opposition to her government; that though numerous and zealous, they were destitute of artillery and money, and unable to make head against disciplined troops, and a regular fortification. They had, however, acquired a consistency, and a face of authority, by the election and institution of a council, which was to direct the executive part of the government. The truth is, not only their conduct, but their writings, discover a much greater insight into the nature of a limited monarchy, and the constitution of Scotland, than are gathered either from Knox or Spotswood. The stile of their compositions is free, manly, and elegant, without the smallest mixture of declamation, or that intemperate zeal which characterizes the writings and speeches of their preachers. It is, in short, equal, if not superior, to that of any publication in the English language in that age. The queen-regent, on the other hand, was sur-

Character of
the reform-
ed writings.

A.D. 1559. rounded by ignorant, furious, bigots, assigned by her brothers, for her counsellors, for such were the bishop of Amiens, and his coadjutors, the Sorbonists. Her other counsellors were either military men, or such as had no farther view than to preserve the revenues and emoluments that had been assigned to them by her and her daughter.

Siege of
Leith.

Besides the council's letter to the queen-regent, they drew up a long and particular detail of the provocations they had received from her; her repeated breaches of faith, and invasions of their privileges, by means of the French soldiers, and her foreign counsellors, to be laid before queen Elizabeth. In a few days after the act of deprivation had passed, they sent a messenger, requiring the queen-regent, and the French, to evacuate Leith. No regard being had to their summons, they resolved to take it by escalade; and ladders, for that purpose, were constructed in the high church of Edinburgh, to the great scandal of the religious among their party. This was a desperate attempt; but they were without artillery, and the sea was open to their enemies. Before their ladders were ready, Haliburton, provost of Dundee, had found means to join them with a body of his townsmen, and some great guns, which they planted against Leith, but without any skill to manage them. The French laughed at this impotent effort; and,
in

in a sally, took the cannon, and beat the besiegers, whom they pursued to the east gate of Edinburgh, while the consternation was so great in the town, that it was in danger of being evacuated, at the west-gate, by its inhabitants. Though the loss of their men was but small, yet the consequences were terrible to the common cause. Some of the best affected of the party discovered a visible despondency in their looks and behaviour. The common people complained, that they were no longer able to serve for want of money; and the mercenaries threw down their arms, because they were not paid. The duke of Chatleheraut, the prior of St. Andrew's, and other lords, did all they could to re-animate their followers. They supplied them with all their ready money, and they sent their plate to be coined; but it was found that their coining irons had been conveyed away. By their endeavours, and the sermons of Knox, and other preachers, the face of an army was still kept up; and the lord James (for so I shall now call the prior of St. Andrew's) with the duke of Chatelheraut, resolved to take the first opportunity to revive the spirits of their men, by a brisk action.

An occasion soon presented itself; for they had intelligence, that a large party of the Leith garrison had marched out, to intercept a convoy of provisions for Edinburgh. The two

The lords
defeated.

A.D. 1559. lords, in hopes of cutting off this party, attacked it, towards the east of the town, with greater courage than prudence. They were once more defeated; and with the greatest difficulty they escaped back to Edinburgh, though their loss was no more than thirty men. This second misfortune rendered it impossible for the lords to keep longer possession of Edinburgh. Besides the two capital disasters which had happened to their party, they were beaten in small skirmishes, and desperate attempts to scale the fortifications. They had, for some time, consoled themselves, that the lord Erskine, who was well affected to the Reformation, would declare in their favour, as that prudent nobleman had sometimes befriended them; but their hopes were dashed, by his peremptorily refusing to join them. Being thus destitute of all resources, they marched, in the middle of the night that succeeded the day of the last skirmish, from Edinburgh, towards Stirling, which they reached without halting.

Correspondence of Knox with England.

Knox, all this while, kept up a private correspondence, under the assumed name of Sinclair, with Crofts, the governor of Berwick. By his letters, which are still extant, particularly one dated the twenty-fifth of October, he strongly solicited a supply of men and money from England, though Elizabeth was then at peace both with France and Scotland. To prevent

prevent any objection of that kind, "It is free (says he to Crofts) for your subjects to serve in war, any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured that they be in our company." Knox received no very encouraging answer; but it is certain, that Elizabeth was then so much convinced of the designs of the French court against her crown and dignity, that she and her ministers became less reserved than formerly; and even while the congregationists were lying at Edinburgh, orders were issued by her council, to remit a thousand pounds to Crofts, for the use of the congregationists; and the following remarkable article is inserted in the same order: "Item, it is thought meet, that Knox be a council with the receipts and payments, and to see that the same may be employed to the common action, and not otherwise to any private use." Crofts was likewise ordered, but with great secrecy, to acquaint the heads of the party, that they should be occasionally supplied with farther sums. This resolution of Elizabeth was a secret to the lords when they arrived at Stirling; for on the eighth of November they sent for Knox, who, independent of his zeal and influence as a preacher, was the best political agent they had; and informed him, in council, that they

were

Encouraging conduct of Elizabeth to the reformers.

A. D. 1559. were resolved to send young Maitland of Ledington, as their deputy to Elizabeth, to lay before her their danger, if the French did not receive a speedy and effectual check in Scotland. That gentleman had been secretary to the queen-regent; but being afraid of his life, for his declared attachment to the Reformation, he had left her at Leith, and had joined the congregation, at a time when their affairs were in the most desperate situation. Being esteemed an accomplished statesman and courtier, he was considered as a great acquisition to their party; and having proper attendants assigned him, he set out on his journey. In the meanwhile, Cockburn of Ormiston had gone to Berwick, where he had received a thousand pounds; but by the excellent intelligence the queen-regent had, he was way-laid by the earl of Bothwell, (whom the congregationists did not suspect) wounded, and robbed of the money.

Progress of
the war in
Scotland;

This loss, though heavy at the time, did not so much discourage the congregationists, as it put them into hopes of a certainty that they would be supported from England*. They gave Elizabeth the same receipt for the money, as if it had come to their hands. Knox, by

* It appears by a letter, dated from Edinburgh, November 24, from Balnaves, who acted as secretary to the congregation, that he had received money before this time from England, for their use.

his sermons, continued to make wonderful impressions on his hearers, and they remained, so far as I can perceive, for some days unmolested; but about the middle of December, the lords agreed, that each should withdraw himself to that part of the kingdom where his chief interest lay, to confirm his followers in the cause of the Reformation, and to be ready to take the field on the first alarm. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Glencairn, with the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, went to the West, where they established their head-quarters at Glasgow. The earls of Rothes and Arran resided in Fife, and the neighbouring counties, where Knox was appointed to be their secretary; and Balnaves was to act in the same capacity to the lords at Glasgow. The latter had begun the destructive work of reformation, by pulling down images and altars; but before they could attack the noble fabric of the high church, they were interrupted by a party of the French, sent, for that purpose, by the queen-regent, assisted by the lords Seton, Sempil, and Ross, and (as tradition says) by many of the townsmen themselves. They next drove the duke of Chatleheraut's followers from the castle, which had belonged to the archbishop, and then returned to Edinburgh. In a few days after, the duke and his friends again took possession of Glasgow, and (with consent, I suppose, of the Fife lords) emitted two proclamations,

and of the
Reforma-
tion.

A.D. 1559. tions, in the name of the king and queen, whom (for what reason does not clearly appear) they only stiled Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphiness of Viennois. By the first, the clergy are charged to join themselves to the congregation, and publicly to renounce popery, upon the pain of their being reputed enemies to God and the true religion, and being deprived of the fruit of their benefices, one part of which was to be bestowed upon the preachers of the Reformation, and the other applied to the support of their common cause. By the second proclamation, all consistorial courts, and popish judicatories, were abolished, or transferred to the civil courts.

It is not to be dissembled, that those were bold steps ; and, under a settled, legal, government, might have been deemed indefensible ; not to mention, that they breathed that very spirit of persecution, of which the authors had so lately, and so lamentably, complained. The latter inconsistency is, I am afraid, too much the character of religionists, in general ; but with regard to making use of the royal names, it was entirely consistent with their former proceedings, and the self-created powers which they had been obliged to assume. I may even venture to say, that it was a proof of their moderation, because it was an acknowledgment of an authority superior to their own. Be this as it

it will, those measures had great effects, as it rendered a reconciliation between the two parties more impracticable than ever. But we are now to attend the motions of the queen-regent. A. D. 1555.

The very day after the congregationists had evacuated Edinburgh, she took possession of that town; and the bishop of Amiens, frantic with bigotry, re-consecrated the high church, which had been polluted by the exercise of the reformed religion. But that intelligent princess did not trust to appearances, flattering as they were. She knew of the resources which the congregationists expected in England; and that the least appearance of success would re-animate and unite their party more than ever. She dispatched a messenger to inform the French court of the promising state of her affairs; but that, to render them permanent, it was necessary to send her farther supplies. In the mean time, she took the spirited resolution of crushing the congregation in its strongest fort, by sending over a large detachment of the French to Fife. They were ordered, in their march, to destroy the houses and estates belonging to the duke of Chatleheraut, in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, and to proceed to Stirling, where they were to make the like devastations upon the estates of all who favoured the congregation. Those orders were punctually obeyed, and they marched, by the sea-side,

The queen-regent re-takes Edinburgh.

A. D. 1559. towards Kinghorn, where they were to receive a reinforcement from Leith. The congregationists endeavoured to prevent this reinforcement from landing; but they were repulsed with some loss.

The war
continues.

The lords of the congregation were then assembled at Cupar, according to the directions which they had received from England. They had come to the resolution of keeping their forces entire, and in a body, till the promised assistance arrived from England. They were disconcerted by the enemy's troops so suddenly invading their head-quarters; and they easily perceived, that unless the French were checked, their cause must be ruined, as the re-fortifying the castle of St. Andrew's would give decisive advantages to their enemies. The lord Ruthven was sent to Kinghorn; but could not prevent that place from falling into the hands of the French. In this desperate state of affairs, the earl of Arran, and lord James, hastily raised about six hundred horse, and threw themselves into Dyfart, which was but three miles distant from Kinghorn, to oppose the progress of the French. This small body performed wonders, and answered all the ends that were proposed by its gallant leaders, in retarding the march of the French for about three weeks.

Disappointment of the
French,

What their numbers were, does not clearly appear. Lesley says, they were no more than two thousand. Buchanan and Spotswood make
... them

them double that number; and I am inclined to believe the latter, on account of the important object of the expedition. The French quarters were every hour beaten up; their provisions were every where intercepted. La Bastie, an officer of some eminence, was killed by the master of Lindfay, and fifty of his regiment cut in pieces, while the rest were taken prisoners by that young nobleman, and Kirkaldy of Grange, whose house they had laid in ashes. D'Oyffel, who commanded the expedition, was obliged to send for provisions to the south side of the Forth; and collecting all his force, he marched towards St. Andrew's, exasperated and ashamed at the slowness of his progress. On the fifteenth of January, they saw a fleet beating up the Forth, which they immediately concluded to be the, so long promised, reinforcements under D'Elbeuf; and they drew out the artillery, to welcome their arrival. They were soon undeceived, by observing the new comers seize the transports, which they employed to carry provisions for them from the south side of the Forth; and, in a few hours, they were certainly informed, that they were English ships of war; which brings me to attend the motions of that court.

A. D. 1569.

1569

by the arrival of the English fleet

The disposition in which Maitland found Elizabeth, left him little occasion for a display of his abilities. I have already explained the

A. D. 1560. reasons, which grew every day stronger and more alarming. The French king and his wife had reassumed the arms of England, which were engraved even on the silver plate in which Throgmorton was served. The only difficulty that lay in Maitland's way, was to convince Elizabeth, that there was no danger of any separate accommodation between the French and the congregationists; which he effectually did. Her resolutions were quickened, by the intelligence she received from France. The armament that had been fitted out for carrying over D'Elben's reinforcement to Scotland, had been dashed in pieces, or forced back by storms; and fifteen hundred of his men had perished. Another officer, Martigues, had, indeed, reached Scotland with a thousand men; but the Scots had found means to surprise the ships which had carried them over. The French court, notwithstanding its promising appearances, was in the utmost distress for money. They had offered to sell to the duke of Savoy all the places they held in his dominions; and every department of civil expence was abridged, to supply their service in Scotland. Notwithstanding all those encouraging circumstances, Elizabeth persevered in her cautious conduct. At first, she intimated to Maitland, and even inserted it in the instructions she sent to her generals, her willingness that the Scotch congregationists should work out

out their own deliverance, by the assistance of A. D. 1560.
 her money; but, that being found impracticable, she fitted out a strong fleet, in a very short time, through the zeal which her subjects expressed for expelling the French out of Scotland. This fleet was divided into two squadrons. The one, under the lord high-admiral, lay in the channel, to guard against any descent from France. The other, consisting of fourteen stout ships, was victualled for three months, and put under the command of admiral Winter, who was ordered to sail for Scotland. The reader, by perusing Winter's instructions, will have an opportunity to admire the artful caution, the profound policy, and determined resolution of Elizabeth *.

* Instructions given by the queen's majesty to William Winter, esq; master of the ordnance of her majesty's admiralty, sent at this present to the seas, with fourteen armed ships to sail to Scotland.

Imprimis, He shall sail in one of those fourteen ships, judged fittest by the lord-admiral, and shall take with him the rest of the ships, as also the transports to carry provisions and military stores to Tinmouth, Holy-Island, or Berwick; and shall bring with him all the transports which he shall find in any port ready for that service, and shall endeavour to preserve that fleet, and keep good discipline therein.

Secondly, He shall make what dispatch he can with the aforesaid ships of war, to convoy the transports to Berwick, &c. then he is to consider, that if, without danger of the fleet, he may enter the Frith of Forth; but he is to be advised in this by Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts: and if he find it not dangerous, notwithstanding the French navy, he shall enter it, and commit no hostilities, unless attacked by the French or Scots of their party; and he shall do what he can to defend the queen's navy, and offend the French to the uttermost, by shot, fire, or otherwise. But if he shall have no hostilities offered him, which
 probably

A. D. 1560.

and army.

After providing for the sea-service, she nominated the duke of Norfolk, a promising young

probably the French will forbear, because of their weakness, yet he must perform the things following :

First, He shall do what he can to hinder any French ship, or any assisting them, to enter the Frith with provisions or men, and that none come out of it, but to take and destroy them.

Second, To hinder any ships within the Frith to land men, provisions, or military stores, for the use of the French or their friends, at Leith, Inch-keith, Dunbar, Blackness, or any other place.

Third, He shall assist, as much as he can, the nobility of Scotland, and their party, who have declared against the French for the liberty of their country.

Fourth, If he find a fit opportunity, and any prospect of success, he may surprize or fight the French navy wherever he can find them ; to which end he must have his fleet in good order, and take what assistance he can have from the Scots who have declared against them : for the chief of his business is to hinder any more power to come from France, and to hinder any ship to go thence with intelligence.

Fifth, If possible, he is to communicate with Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, to whom he shall shew his instructions ; and with their advice shall undertake what shall be thought most fit for the queen's service.

Sixth, If it shall be thought fit not to attack the French fleet, and only to guard the mouth of the Frith, then he shall only be upon the defensive. To colour this, he is to give out, that he is either driven by wind, or that he is come to victual upon the coasts of Fife, or use some other pretext, till further occasion shall happen to commit hostility.

Seventh, Though her majesty hath many good reasons to make war upon the French, yet Mr. Winter shall not name any as in the queen's name ; but shall say, that having conveyed provisions to Berwick, he thought fit to ride in the Frith thirteen or fourteen days, till the transports were unloaded at Berwick, and that he cannot be there with his great ships. 'Tis thought the French will soon give some good cause to begin the war, except cowardice prevent them ; and though there be no other, he may challenge the French for carrying the arms of England, to the dishonour of his sovereign and his country, and which he cannot abide : and so, as from himself, he may begin hostilities upon any prospect of success.

A. D. 1566.

nobleman, and the first peer of her kingdom, to command the army; and under him the lord Grey, of Wilton, an officer of great experience. They were instructed, at first, to rendezvous the army on the twenty-fifth of January; and then on the thirtieth at Newcastle; but to lie upon the borders till they should receive advice of Winter's motions in the Frith of Forth. They were privately to send some officers to discipline the army of the congregation, and they were to wink at the Scots surprizing and plundering one or two English ships, laden with artillery and warlike stores. Winter's Squadron meeting with contrary winds, Elizabeth found herself under a necessity to deviate somewhat from her cautious conduct. She sent orders to the duke of Norfolk, who was then at Berwick, conferring with Crofts and Sadler, to supply the Scotch lords with money, if the fleet should be longer retarded; and that rather than suffer their cause to be ruined, he was to march to their assistance with his whole army, consisting of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse. It was at the same time agreed upon, between Elizabeth and Maitland, that

at Berwick,

Eighth, Upon the advice of Sadler and Crofts, he may endeavour to victual his fleet, or part thereof, upon Fife side, by the assistance of the free Scots, upon reasonable prices, by which he may save his provisions.

Lastly, He shall use great caution, until Norfolk be come to the borders, before that time he should take the advice aforesaid.

the

A. D. 1560. the lords of the congregation should nominate deputies to confer with the duke of Norfolk about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and to conclude with him a treaty for preserving their country from being dependent upon France.

Previous
negotiations.

The appearance of Winter's squadron in the Forth, struck the French, on both sides of that river, with the utmost consternation. Those in Fife, were afraid of having their retreat to Leith cut off. Some of them, therefore, began to fortify Burnt-Island, others set out on forced marches, by the way of Stirling, and reached Leith in three days, with the loss of a few men. Some of them marched by the way of Dumferling, and many threw themselves on board some ships, and landed on the island of Inchkeith, which they had lately re-fortified. As soon as Winter dropt anchor in the road, the queen-regent demanded, by what authority he came thither? His answer was, according to his instructions, plausible but vague; for he said he was looking out for pirates. This was far from satisfying the queen-regent, who immediately dispatched messengers and heralds to Elizabeth and her generals; and a train of negotiations and apologies followed, till, at last, Elizabeth plainly declared, that she was resolved to suffer no more French to enter Scotland; and demanded, that those who were already there, should depart.

Chester,

A.D. 1560.

Treaty of
Berwick

Chester, the herald, who brought this answer from England, when he delivered it, was insulted by Martigues; who soon after went over to Inchkeith, where he ordered the fortifications both there and at Burnt-Island, as well as from Leith, to play upon the English fleet. This gave Winter a favourable opportunity for commencing hostilities, and he accordingly attacked and took two French men of war, and a sloop full of military stores, pretending he did it in self-defence. This vigour had a wonderful effect, by encouraging the lords of the congregation, and intimating to those who were neutral, (the chief of whom were the earls of Huntley, Hume, and Morton) that Elizabeth, whatever pacific appearances she might assume, was in earnest, at least, to drive the French out of Scotland. Towards the end of January, or early in February, the deputies who were to treat with the duke of Norfolk at Berwick, were nominated. They were the lord James, Patric lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles, Maitland the younger of Ledington, Wisheart of Pitarrow, Balnaves of Halhill, on the part of the duke of Chatleheraut, and the lords of his party; and the duke of Norfolk on the part of Elizabeth. By the treaty then concluded, (the original of which is still extant) Elizabeth promised to maintain the succession to the crown of Scotland in the duke of Chatleheraut's family,

A.D. 1560. against the practices of the French. She undertook to employ an army and a fleet in Scotland, not only to expel the French from thence, but to prevent their landing there for the future. Her army was to be joined by that of the independent Scots; and not to be separated, excepting the French would agree to restore Scotland to its independency. All the places in that kingdom taken from the enemy, were to be either demolished, or delivered up to the duke of Chatleheraut and his party, at their option. In case the French should invade England, the congregationists were to assist Elizabeth with two thousand horse, and two thousand foot, at the least. The earl of Argyle, lord-justice of Scotland, was to assist Elizabeth's deputy in Ireland, in reducing the northern parts of that kingdom to her obedience; and the congregationists were to give hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

glorious for
Elizabeth.

Such was the substance of this famous treaty, which does more honour to Elizabeth, than perhaps any other action of her reign, glorious as it was. It is fortunate for her memory, that the preservation of the rights and religion of an independent people, were connected with self-preservation, and the interests of her kingdom; and that the perfidious dealings of the French court, must justify the conduct of her, and her allies, as long as the principles of liberty

erty are understood, and have place among men. It is likewise to the honour of the contracting parties in this treaty, that it expresses the most respectful obedience and loyalty to the lawful sovereign of Scotland.

The queen-regent was no stranger to the contents of the treaty of Berwick; and she informed her friends in France, that provided she could receive reinforcements by the middle of May, she did not doubt of being able to baffle all the efforts both of Elizabeth, and the congregation. De Sevre, an able minister, had relieved Noailles at the English court; and Throgmorton informed Elizabeth, that he was instructed to open a new scene of negotiations, till the reinforcements could be ready. The cardinal of Lorrain, and the princes of the house of Guise, had filled all Europe with complaints of Elizabeth, as having not only fomented the rebellion in Scotland, but formed a conspiracy for assassinating the king and queen of France. Those black accusations made such an impression upon the king of Spain, (upon whose firmness Elizabeth had great dependence) that he sent Glayon (one of his ablest ministers) to London, to mediate between her and the French. De Sevre, at the same time, was instructed to behave with great moderation at the court of England, to render Elizabeth more inexcusable in the eyes of his catholic majesty, if she should refuse to treat

Letter from
Throgmor-
ton to Eli-
zabeth,
dated March
15.

Affairs on
the conti-
nent.

A. D. 1560. of an accommodation. He dropt all mention of any differences between his court, and that of England; and offered, that the queen of Scotland should wear the arms of England only as a descendent, with a mark of cadency; and that all the French, except three or four companies of foot, should be immediately recalled from Scotland; and that the preparations making in France, for sending more troops to that kingdom, should be discontinued. Throgmorton endeavoured to convince Elizabeth how very insincere those appearances were; but nothing can be more certain, than Elizabeth being so much affected with her situation at this time, that upon a complaint of the queen-regent against Winter, she ordered the duke of Norfolk to question that admiral, why he had exceeded his instructions, by committing hostilities against the French? "Because (says she, in the close of her letter) you know that his principal coming hither was rather to preserve peace than to break the same."

Letter of
the queen
to the duke
of Norfolk,
March 9.

By this time it had been agreed between the duke of Norfolk, and the Scotch lords, that their armies should join each other on the twenty-fifth of March, at a place called Acheson's Haven; but De Sevre prevailed with Elizabeth to countermand this junction, because he had engaged that the French should evacuate Scotland by the second of April. This delay

delay was the more discouraging to the lords of the congregation, as they had not yet received Elizabeth's ratification of the treaty of Berwick; and they understood, that the famous Monluc, bishop of Valence, who was thought to be the best negotiator in Europe, had been nominated to assist De Sevre at the court of London, especially to procure some farther delay of time. All Monluc's abilities proved ineffectual for that purpose, through the discovery of the duplicity of the French, which had been chiefly brought to light by Throgmorton.

A new
treaty.

De Sevre, to give Elizabeth a bad opinion of the Scotch congregationists, had pretended, that the duke of Chatleheraut had applied to the French court for a pardon, which he made the condition of his submitting to the queen-regent. The duke was so much exasperated at this calumny, that he challenged De Sevre, and offered to fight any man in France, the king excepted, who should affirm it, acquainting De Sevre at the same time, that if he would lay aside his character, he had a hundred gentlemen of his own dependence, each of them equal in birth to De Sevre, and each of them ready to tell him that he lied; but other proofs were not wanting of the French duplicity on this occasion. Upon Montluc's arrival in England, that court demanded a sight of his powers; but instead of producing them,

Burleigh's
Papers.

he

A. D. 1560. he desired to have a safe-conduct to confer with the queen-regent; and he even pretended, that De Sevre had exceeded his instructions, in fixing so early a day for the French evacuating Scotland.

Insincerity
of the
French.

Some letters, which were about this time intercepted from the princes of Lorraine to the queen-regent, put the insincerity of the French out of all dispute; but Elizabeth was so tender of giving umbrage to his catholic majesty, that she appeared still indecisive, and left the affair to her council-board. They did not hesitate to petition her very warmly for breaking off all farther negotiation with the French ministers; and next day a proclamation was issued, offering the French a safe-conduct out of Scotland; and threatening, if it was refused, to expel them by force. Glayon interposed, and desired that Elizabeth's army might be recalled from the borders of Scotland, for forty or fifty days, till he could know the sense of his master, the catholic king. He intimated, at the same time, that if his request was refused, his master was disposed to assist the French, in reducing the Scotch rebels. His demand was answered by a strong, but elegant, memorial, drawn up by Cecil in Latin, which fully exposes the perfidy and futility of the French court. From it we learn, that De Sevre even pretended, that the French king had threatened, if the queen, his wife, did not disuse the

Petition of
the council
to Eliza-
beth, March
25.

the English arms, (he being always averse to her using them) he would banish her into Scotland.

From some hints that fell from Glayon, as if the catholic king would be sorry to see the French masters of Scotland, queen Elizabeth, at last, came to a final resolution; and Sir Nicholas Strange was dispatched with a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, and with orders to the duke of Norfolk to put his army in motion, so as to arrive at Acheson's Haven by a certain day. The duke, upon the receipt of those orders, intimated the same to the queen-regent, who had renewed her offer of pardon to the Scots, who were in arms. This offer had little or no effect; for the duke was joined by the congregationists with the utmost alacrity. It is almost incredible, that, even at this time, Elizabeth appeared to be wavering as to the part she was to act; but she contented herself with ordering her two generals to do all they could for obtaining an honourable peace, by the French evacuating Scotland; tho' she wished that the Scots would agree to their leaving "as many as might stand with the surety of their country from danger of conquest, and the regard that was to be had of the French king's honour." This continued appearance of indecision, renewed the apprehensions of the congregationists; for the duke
of

The English army enters Scotland.

A. D. 1560.

A. D. 1560. of Norfolk treated with the queen-regent, even after his army had entered Scotland.

The queen-regent retires to the castle of Edinburgh.

That princess, who, during the last years of her administration, had acted a part foreign to her nature, and disapproved of by her better sense, began now to sink under the cares of government. Oppressed in her spirits, and declining in her health, she prevailed with the lord Erskine, (who retained his credit with both parties) to admit her, and a few of her attendants, into Edinburgh castle, where she avoided, as much as she could, to give any direct answer to the most respectful applications from the duke of Norfolk, or from the chiefs of the congregation, who once more addressed her in the mildest manner. Her obstinacy, in this respect, was encouraged not only by the daily expectations she had of reinforcements from France, but by the intelligence she received, that Elizabeth intended to withdraw her army from Scotland. All, therefore, that the queen-regent could be brought to, was to admit of a conference with Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard, whom she had known in France, attended by six other gentlemen. To them she talked in a pretty high strain, by insisting, that Dunbar should remain in possession of the French; and that the lords of the congregation ought to humble themselves, for having presumed to enter into an alliance with

a fo-

Letter from Throgmorton to Cecil, April 28.

a foreign power, without their sovereign's knowledge or consent. A.D. 1560.

I have dwelt the longer on those particulars, (all of them drawn from the state-papers of the time, and not resting upon the partial accounts of interested historians, for such those both of Scotland and England were at this time) because, though omitted by our latest writers, they are of the utmost importance, to prove under what difficulties the first reformers of Scotland struggled in re-establishing their civil liberties; for as to religion, the queen-regent was willing to grant all they could desire. Fresh negotiation

It was with the deepest concern, that the heads of the congregation beheld those conferences. The names of those who joined the English army, with their followers, deserve to be recorded here. They were the duke of Chatleheraut, with his son, the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Sutherland, Menteith, the lord James, lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, and Boyd, the masters of Maxwell and Lindsay, and the bishop of Galloway, the abbot of Inch-Colm, (he was predecessor to the present earls of Moray) the abbot of Culrofs, the lairds of Ormiston, Pitarrow, Cunninghamhead, Grange, and others. While the conferences were going on with the queen-regent, the English officers and soldiers were so well disposed to the service they were engaged in, that the congregationists persuaded the lord Grey to attack a body of

A. D. 1560. French, of about thirteen hundred, who had taken possession of an eminence called Hawk-Hill, near Leith. The action was extremely critical; and the French were by the Scotch cavalry driven back with considerable loss into Leith. The circumstances of the engagement are differently related; but it certainly had the effect of breaking off, for that time, all thoughts of an accommodation, and the lord Grey (the duke of Norfolk being still at Berwick) was so zealous in the cause [of the congregation, that dispositions were making for besieging the fortifications at Leith, and the castle of Edinburgh at the same time, when they were countermanded by Elizabeth. But her councils soon took another turn, from the representations of her own ministry, and of Throgmorton, concerning the distress and divisions of the French court.

Letter from
Elizabeth
to Norfolk,
April 14.

Sir George Howard had been sent to her, by the duke of Norfolk, to lay before her the state of her affairs in England. Her orders to him were, that he should immediately return thither, and that the siege of Leith should be continued with more vigour than ever; but without discouraging any reasonable terms that might be proposed by the French. This favourable disposition of Elizabeth was most industriously spread through the English and Scotch camps, and had surprizing effects, especially after orders came from Elizabeth to lord

lord Grey, for adding two thousand English borderers to his army, and for taking a body of Scots into English pay. Those promising appearances induced Maitland to write to secretary Cecil, that "there was a great likelihood of good success, if they could get rid of all terms of treating." Without detracting from Elizabeth's merit in supporting the congregationists, it is evident, from the most unquestionable records, that the success of the Scotch lords was chiefly owing to their own spirit and firmness. Monluc was then at Berwick, on his way to Scotland; and the duke of Norfolk would have refused him a passport, had not Elizabeth's orders, on that head, been peremptory; so that he arrived in the English camp, near Leith, on the twenty-second of April. The Scotch lords would have put him under arrest, as he did not produce any powers for treating; but the lord Grey sent him to the castle of Edinburgh, under the protection of an English herald.

A.D. 1560.

April 18.

It would be useless, at present, to give any particular detail of the siege of Leith, especially as the art of war, as practised at that time, would be unintelligible to a modern reader. I shall therefore keep by the great lines laid down by the state-papers, which often correct and clear up the relations of historians. The arrival of Monluc once more threw a damp on the affairs of the congregationists; and the

The Eng-
lish besiege
Leith;

A.D. 1560. lord Grey, an obstinate old man, having taken up his head-quarters at the abbey of Restalrig, which was at a very inconvenient distance from Leith, the English soldiers, who had a contempt for the French, grew so negligent of discipline, that on the fifteenth of April, their enemies, in a sally, entered their trenches, nailed up three pieces of battering cannon, cut off about six hundred private men, besides officers, took Sir Maurice Berkeley prisoner, and wounded lord Grey's son. Those particulars were carefully concealed even from Elizabeth; and, upon the whole, it cannot be denied, that the siege must have been carried on by the English in a very awkward manner, when we consider that the town was weak, and its fortifications unfinished. The lord Grey endeavoured to throw the blame of the late disaster upon the queen's refusing him leave to besiege the castle of Edinburgh; and upon the Scotch lords not having their full complement of men in the field; but this was so far from being true, that, as we learn from one of the duke of Norfolk's letters, they insisted upon being mustered twice a day. The operations of the siege were changed, but with no effect; and the little damage which the French received came chiefly from the quarter where the Scotch lords were encamped.

The English navy, under Winter, being still in possession of the Forth, the besieged could receive

A. D. 1560.

receive no supplies by sea; but their courage and discipline was amazing. Notwithstanding their inconsiderable number, they kept up a communication with Dunbar, and repeated their sallies every hour with such vigour, that, according to one of the duke of Norfolk's letters to Cecil, the English alone, from the fifth of April, to the eighth of May, lost above four thousand men; nor can we suppose the loss of the Scots to be less. As to the original number of the besiegers, they could not be fewer than sixteen thousand men; but they were every day receiving new reinforcements, and were provided with an excellent train of artillery; for Elizabeth had now given orders for besieging the castle of Edinburgh, provided it did not retard the siege of Leith. Monluc, who was still in the castle of Edinburgh, continued to treat: but insisted upon the French keeping possession of the castles of Dunbar and Dumbarton. The earl of Huntley, tho' of the Roman catholic religion, had, at the pressing sollicitation of Cecil, as well as the queen-regent, marched southwards at the head of his followers; and entering Edinburgh, he acted the part of a mediator. He was as forward as any of the congregationists for the evacuation of Scotland by the French, and had entered into all the views of the English generals; but his agency proving ineffectual,

but without success.

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A.D. 1560. we are told that he returned to his estates in the north.

By this time the shameful management of the siege of Leith had raised an universal indignation against the English generals, Grey and Crofts; and the sailors of Winter's fleet offered to take the place, provided they were rewarded by its spoils. Grey, upon this, again changed his batteries; and advanced so near the town, that he dismounted part of the French artillery, (a dreadful fire happening within the place at the same time, which burnt down the chief granaries of the besieged) and a breach being effected, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to give a general assault to the town next day. This resolution was taken against the opinion of Kirkaldy, an excellent officer; and Sadler, who declared the breach was not practicable. It was, however, attempted, and an escalade at the same time: but both miscarried; the one through the valour of the defendants, and the latter thro' the shortness of the ladders. Crofts, who loved money, and who before was suspected of being tampered with by the French, was accused of not supporting lord Grey; and was gently (but I believe very unjustly) set aside from his government of Berwick. We have, under lord Grey's own hand, in a letter to the duke of Norfolk, a very remarkable account

count of the state of the English army, after this miscarriage. He says, "That whereas (since the beginning of the siege) there went out of Berwick eight thousand five hundred foot, (besides horse, pioneers, and all the artillery men) they are not able now to shew four thousand five hundred; and that if the queen's majesty mind the winning of Leith, it is not to be done under twenty thousand men; and as for the ammunition and powder, it is quite spent, insomuch as they were fain to borrow five lasts of the ships, who could ill spare it."

A.D. 1560.

Their loss.

The difficulties which the congregationists met with in the siege, was so far from discouraging them, that it strengthened their purpose, and every disappointment united them more than ever. They drew up a fresh association, which they termed a fourth covenant, for promoting the Reformation; for expelling the French out of Scotland; for recovering their liberties; and for submitting all controversies that might happen among themselves, to the decision of the council. On the tenth of May, they ratified the treaty of Berwick afresh. The parties were the duke of Chatleheraut, and his son, the earl of Arran, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Rothes, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Morton, the earl of Menteith, lord Ogilvie, lord James Stuart, Alexander Gordon, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree,

Firmness of the Scotch lords.

A.D. 1560. Ochiltree, Gawin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, abbot of Culrofs, lord Borthwick, lord of St. John *, lord John Aberbrothoc †, lord Somervil, lord Robert Stuart §, abbot of Kinlofs, James Stuart of St. Coln's Inch. The conduct of Elizabeth was equally spirited; for though she at first fell into a dreadful passion, at hearing that the last attempt upon Leith had cost her a thousand men, yet she soon recovered herself; and sent orders to the duke of Norfolk to reinforce her army with two thousand men immediately, to raise six thousand more, and, if needful, to take upon himself the command of the siege. She ordered, at the same time, that particular letters of thanks should be sent, in her name, to such officers and soldiers as had distinguished themselves the most in that service. The duke punctually performed all her commands; and ordered a tent to be erected for himself, in the camp, before Leith.

Leith
bravely de-
fended by
the French.

The queen-regent, who was then drawing towards her last moments, was in hopes, upon

* James Sandilands, second son to Sir James Sandilands of Calder: He was lord of St. John at Jerusalem, a military order of religious knights; and was thereafter created lord Torphichen.

† John Hamilton, second son to the duke of Chatleheraut: Upon the death of his elder brother he became earl of Arran, and was afterwards created marquis of Hamilton; of whose body is lineally descended the present duke of Hamilton.

§ He was abbot of Holyrood-house, and natural son to king James the fifth, and was afterwards earl of Orkney.

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the late miscarriage of the English, that they would raise the siege of Leith; and she even enlarged her offers to the lords of the congregation, but all was to no purpose; though the English army was now reduced so low, that their soldiers durst give no interruption to the French, in repairing their fortifications. In a few days, the affairs of the congregation had a more promising aspect than ever. Eighteen French ships were intercepted by Winter's fleet, in their passage to Scotland. The rising troubles in the Low-Countries disabled the king of Spain (whom Elizabeth most dreaded) from performing his compact with the French court; and though the French, in Leith, had behaved bravely, yet they were now so shut up, and had suffered so much by the late fire, that they began to be in want of ammunition.

Such was the state of the war in Scotland, when, upon the tenth of June, the queen-regent died, a sacrifice to the perjury and ambition of the princes of her own family. She had the abilities, as well as inclination, to have prevented all the violences attending the Reformation in Scotland, and to have raised that kingdom to a pitch of greatness, unknown to former times. That she was a Roman catholic cannot be doubted; but she was so, without a principle of bigotry, or a spirit of persecution. She was sensible that the people of Scotland were no longer to be kept in their religious

Death and
character of
the queen-
regent.

A.D. 1560. thraldom; and she would willingly have compromised matters, so as to have established her daughter's civil authority, by diminishing the clergy's influence, and reforming their order. This was evidently her plan, when she, in a manner, wrested the regency from the first prince of the blood, who was become unpopular by a contrary conduct; and when she assumed the reins of government, with the joyful concurrence of the heads of the Reformation. We have already seen, that she was forced against her own better sense into the paths of unpopularity; and it must be candidly acknowledged, that the conduct of the violent reformers was far from being defensible. When she found that her death was inevitable, she laid aside all worldly considerations, and gave a loose to her genuine sentiments. She bewailed her having been misled by violent counsels, and her being obliged to pursue them. She sent, at first, for D'Oyssel, to whom she probably intended to recommend more moderate counsels; but a safe-conduct being denied him, she desired to see the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Argyll, lord James, and other heads of the congregationists. They suspected some insincerity in this invitation, and declined waiting upon her at once, or trusting themselves in a body with her within the castle; but they were admitted separately into her chamber. To them she recommended obedience to her daughter,
the

the restoration of tranquility to Scotland, and the dismissal both of French and English out of the kingdom. She exhorted them to re-establish their own and their country's liberties; and expressed her concern, that they had ever been compelled to have recourse for protection to any power, but their own sovereign. According to Knox, next to the princes of her own family, she blamed the earl of Huntley for not having accommodated matters with the reformed; and bursting into tears, she prayed for, and gave, forgiveness from, and to all she had offended. All the company was affected in the same manner, and she bade them a most affectionate adieu. The same author, whom we can scarcely suppose to have prevaricated in so notorious a fact, while so many were living who could contradict him, says, that they persuaded her to send for Mr. Willocks, whose ministry she made use of with reverence and fervency in her last moments. Some time before her death, she transmitted to her daughter a manuscript in her own hand, containing a detail of the affairs of Scotland, with the characters of the nobility and officers of state there, for her better direction in the conduct of government. Her memory has been so happy, that all writers agree in the character I have given her, except Mr. Knox; but what he says, proceeds from a visible acrimony against her religion and family. She seems to have

A. D. 1560. died of a complication of disorders, which terminated in a dropſy; and her body was carried over to France, where it was buried in the Benedictine monaſtery of St. Peter at Rheims, of which her ſiſter, Renee, was abbeſs.

Transac-
tions in Eng-
land.

Monluc, before the death of the queen-regent, having deſpaired of ſucceſs in Scotland, returned to England, where he was inſtructed to offer to Elizabeth the immediate rendition of the town of Calais, (the greateſt bait the French thought they could throw out to England) provided ſhe would recal her troops from Scotland, and cancel the treaty of Berwick. Elizabeth's anſwer was, "That ſhe did not value that fiſh-town a ruſh, when compared with the general good of her ſubjects." This expedient failing, they had recourſe to another, of a very extraordinary nature. One Randan, of the houſe of Rochefaucault, an accompliſhed French courtier, was ſent to propoſe to Elizabeth a marriage between her and the earl of Arran, who was to have been immediately declared king of Scotland. In return, (in caſe the French king died) his queen was to have a dowry provided for her, equal to the revenues of the Scotch crown; and Elizabeth was to renounce all her claims upon the crown of France, as Mary was all her right to the kingdom of Scotland. That Randan was charged with ſuch a commiſſion, appears plainly from Throgmorton's letters to Elizabeth, as well as to

to Cecil. Both these great statesmen were A. D. 1562 strongly inclined to favour the proposal of the marriage; and Elizabeth herself, according to the usual manner in which she treated such advances, seems rather to have evaded than rejected it; but she chose the method of negotiation for terminating the broils of Scotland.

Randan produced his commission from the French king and queen, appointing Monluc A new negotiation bishop of Valence, Pelue the bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, D'Oyssel, and himself, to treat with Elizabeth's commissioners. These were Cecil, that great statesman, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, an experienced negotiator, to whom were added (though only for form sake) Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Henry Piercy, and Sir Peter Carew. The exclusion of the Scots, as principals in the negotiation, was agreeable to both parties, as it saved the French king the mortification of treating with his rebellious subjects, and rendered them the more dependent upon Elizabeth. Monluc and Randan were the two acting plenipotentiaries for France, as Cecil and Wotton were for England; and it was agreed, that the first meeting should be at Newcastle, for the conveniency of holding a correspondence with the duke of Norfolk, who was still at Berwick, and the Scotch lords. The instructions given to the two English plenipotentiaries, admitted of long debates in the English council; and are drawn up with

A. D. 1560.

Dated May
26.

with great art and address. According to them, they were to consult the lords of the congregation upon the number of French that were to be left in Scotland, for saving the honour of the French king, and to take their directions about the fortifications that were to be demolished in Scotland; but they were, of themselves, to insist on the demolition of Eyemouth, because of its neighbourhood to Berwick. If the French should obstinately insist upon cancelling the treaty of Berwick, they were to urge, that a new treaty should be entered into, for preserving the liberties of Scotland from foreign invasion, between the French king, queen, and parliament of Scotland, on the one part, and Elizabeth, and her parliament, on the other; and if that was rejected, they were to break off the treaty; as they were, if the French king and queen did not agree to desist from using the stile and arms of England; and if they refused to grant a liberty of conscience to the Scots, in matters of religion, at least to the end of the next parliament, to be held in Scotland.

Those instructions evince, at once, the great sagacity of Elizabeth; and that, at this time, she had no design to invade, but to re-establish, the independency of Scotland, as the most natural means she could employ for her own defence. The conferences were transferred from Newcastle to Berwick, where the commissioners

missioners received news of the queen-regent's death. The commissioners there agreed, that the town of Edinburgh should be the place of treaty; and that the conferences should last no longer than from Monday to Saturday, in the same week; that a cessation of arms should be concluded; that the French commissioners, with their retinues, as contained in their letters of safe-conduct, shall enter Scotland with those of England, none of them carrying more money than shall appear to be necessary for their ordinary expences. Neither shall it be lawful for them to confer with French or Scotsmen on their road to Edinburgh, or during the treaty, without consent of the English commissioners, or those they shall authorise to look after this matter. While the conferences were holding at Edinburgh, the French plenipotentiaries were not to leave their lodgings, without the consent of such Englishmen, as the commissioners of that nation shall depute to attend them. The French plenipotentiaries were at liberty to confer with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the late queen's secretary, and the justice-clerk, who had retired with her into the castle. It was lawful for the French embassadors to demand, have, and retain such cyphers and writings, as were left by the queen-dowager in her secretary's hands; and that captain Chapperon shall deliver to them

A.D. 1560.

transferred
to, and con-
cluded at
Edinburgh.

A.D. 1560. them such papers and commissions as he had lately brought from France to Scotland.

In consequence of this agreement, the conferences were transferred to Edinburgh. In the mean while, the garrison of Leith was in so miserable a condition, that horseflesh there sold at a considerable price. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, though he had been at great pains in reinforcing the English army, complained bitterly of the false musters which had been given in by the lord Grey; and it was discovered, or pretended, that Randan had, among his domestics, some disguised engineers, who were to act as such, if the treaty should take no effect. As to the garrison of Leith, queen Elizabeth had ordered her ships to transport them to France, an offer which they said they were willing to embrace; and therefore they could in no event be detained as prisoners. They were, however, so apprehensive of lord Grey's cruelty, that had not the conferences for a treaty been opened, they would have surrendered the place to admiral Winter. It does not appear, that the death of the queen-regent had any effect upon the negotiations; but, according to Cecil's letters, (which are still extant) both the French and English plenipotentiaries laboured as hard as if they had been soldiers in trenches. The French, according to the genius of their govern-

A. D. 1560

government, demanded the same terms, as they would have done, if their affairs in Scotland, instead of being desperate, had been flourishing; for they insisted upon the treaty of Berwick being cancelled, and upon the re-establishment of the popish religion in Scotland. The brave defence still made by the French garrison of Leith, rendered them the more peremptory in their demands; and the whole negotiation was, more than once, on the point of being thrown up. Cecil, whose heart was with the congregationists, knew that he had enemies at his own court, who would take advantage of the smallest slip in his conduct to ruin him, which rendered him the more strenuous. He employed certain agents to discharge billets, on the points of arrows, into Leith, with a view of raising a mutiny in the garrison, and obliging the officers to make the same capitulation as had been granted to the English, upon the reduction of Calais. The same billets intimated, that the duke of Norfolk was on his march from Berwick, at the head of a fresh army; and that if he took the place by storm, he would give no quarter to any of the garrison.

That, and other stratagems of the same kind, had no effect; but Elizabeth, well knowing the internal distresses of France, rose in her demands, and insisted upon the rendition of Calais, and five hundred thousand crowns being paid her, as a compensation for the affront and

A. D. 1560. injury she had received, by the French queen assuming her title and arms. Before this demand arrived at Edinburgh, Cecil fell upon an expedient, which removed the principal objection to the treaty. It was, that the Scotch congregationists should accept the redress of their grievances, as a matter of favour from their sovereigns; and that their demands should be settled apart from the treaty between Elizabeth and the French king. It may be here proper to observe, tho' it has passed unnoticed by other historians, that this single circumstance is of importance enough to clear the leading nobility of Scotland, at that time, from all suspicion of disloyalty, and from all treasonable intentions of abridging the crown of its just prerogatives. The expedient proposed by Cecil was accepted of, and adopted by them; and as it is one of the most interesting parts of the Scotch history, I shall give the whole of the treaty in the notes, from the manuscript of Cecil himself, under the title of the "Accord betwixt the French Kyng and Queen of Scots, and the Nobilite of Scotland, 3 die Julii, 1560 *."

* "First, Upon the complaint made by the nobility and people of this country against the number of soldiers kept up here in time of peace, supplicating the lords-deputies of the king and queen to afford some remedy therein, for the relief of the country: The saids deputies having considered the said request to be just and reasonable, have consented, agreed, and appointed, in the name of the king and queen, That hereafter their majesties shall not introduce into this kingdom any soldiers out of France, nor

Thus a triple negotiation was concluded, A. D. 1560.
one between Elizabeth and the French king,

nor any other nation whatsoever, unless in the event of a foreign army's attempting to invade and possess this kingdom: In which case, the king and queen shall make provision, by and with the counsel and advice of the three estates of this nation. And as for the French soldiers that are just now in the town of Leith, they shall be sent back into France, at the same time that the English naval and land armies, together with the Scottish army, shall remove in such form as shall be more amply devised. And it is likewise agreed, that such bands of Scottish soldiers, as are within the town of Leith, shall be disbanded. Item, That no more than six score French soldiers shall be retained in the forts of Dunbar and Inch-keith, to be divided between them two places; sixty whereof, and no more, shall remain in the fort of Dunbar. And if the states can fall upon any secure means, whereby to retrench the expence laid out on these two places, without incurring the danger of rendering them a prey to those that would pretend to make themselves masters of them, they are at freedom to acquaint their majesties thereof with the soonest. But the foresaid number of six score French soldiers shall in no wise be augmented: Nor shall it be allowable for them to do harm or injury to any person, nor yet to receive within their forts any Scottish men of what quality or degree soever, with intention to secure them from the magistrates of the country, or defend them against the officers of justice; nor shall they take any part in private quarrels, which may chance to fall out among the great men or other persons within the kingdom: And if any complaint shall be made against any of themselves, they shall be bound to answer before the ordinary judges of the land, and shall be liable to punishment, according to the laws and customs of the country. Item, It is provided, that to prevent their taking things upon loan, they shall receive their wages regularly each month. And it shall be lawful for two Scottish gentlemen, chosen by the council, to be present at their musters, and to inspect the forts, lest there be more men got into them, than the stipulated number. Item, The soldiers belonging to those two garrisons shall not take to them any victuals, without paying ready money for the same; at least, they shall not take them against the good will and consent of those to whom they belong: And the nobility shall be obliged to furnish them with as much as they stand in need of, provided they have money to pay for the same.

A. D. 1560.

Address of
Elisabeth.

concerning their general and national affairs; a second between him, his wife, and their Scotch

“ Second, As to the petition presented to the lords-deputies, concerning the demolition of fortifications, they have consented, agreed, and appointed, That the fortifications of Leith shall be demolished: And as for Dunbar, two commissioners shall be appointed by the lords-deputies, who, together with two Scottish men, shall visit the place, and consider what therein is fit to be demolished; and such new works as have been added to it, since the beginning of these troubles, together with such as may serve to enlarge the fortification, and render it capable to receive soldiers, shall all be thrown down three days after that Leith begins to be demolished. And forasmuch as by the said demolition, and the few soldiers that are to be left in garriſon, the place will be in danger to be surprized, it is accorded, That those who have presented this petition, shall each, in particular, oblige themselves to defend it with all their force, against all those that would attempt to seize it. The same thing shall, in like manner, be agreed upon by the states, with respect to the wardens of the marches. And neither the king, nor the queen, shall hereafter cause to be built any new fortification within this kingdom, nor yet enlarge those that are now subsisting, nor repair those that are now to be demolished, but by the advice and consent of the states. Neither shall they cause to be imported any artillery, ammunition, gun-powder, or vivres, in a greater quantity than shall be necessary for the defence of the two fore-mentioned forts, and the complement of their garriſons from one half year to another, or, at most, from year to year, without the advice and consent of the states foresaid.

“ Third, Touching the petition for the payment of such debts as be owing within this kingdom by the French and Scottish bands, in the service of the king, the lords-deputies have agreed, That the king and queen shall cause to be reimbursed whatever has been given to the king's lieutenant, to the captains, and other officers, for the subsistence of the said bands; and, generally, whatever the king's lieutenant is in debt for his majesty's service, whether the same appear by writing, or by the confession and acknowledgment of the parties.

“ Fourth, Concerning the petition relating to the assembling of the states, the lords-deputies have agreed, consented, and appointed, That the states of the kingdom may assemble, in order to hold a parliament on the tenth day of July, now running; and that on the said day the parliament shall be adjourned and continued,

subjects, who, by their own undaunted perfev-
 rance, and the zealous policy of Cecil, ob-

A. D. 1560.

continued, according to custom, from the said tenth day of July, until the first day of August next: Provided, that before the states shall enter upon any business, all hostilities, both by English and Scottishmen, be at an end, that so the votes of the meeting may be unconstrained, and none of them be overawed by soldiers, or any other persons whatsoever. And during the interval of adjournment, the lords-deputies shall order a dispatch to the king and queen to advertise them of this concession, and supplicate them most humbly, that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have herein accorded. And this assembly shall be as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen; provided, always, that no matter whatsoever shall be treated of, before the foresaid first day of August.

"Fifth, Concerning the article relating to peace and war, the lords-deputies have consented, granted, and appointed, That neither the king nor the queen shall order peace or war within Scotland, but by the advice and consent of the three estates, conformable to the laws, ordinances, and customs of the country, and as has formerly been done by their predecessors, kings of Scotland.

"Sixth, Touching the petition presented to the lords-deputies, relative to the political government, and the affairs of state, within this kingdom, the saids lords have consented, accorded, and agreed, That the three estates shall make choice of twenty-four able and sufficient persons of note of this realm; out of which number the queen shall select seven, and the states five; for to serve as an ordinary council of state, during her majesty's absence, for administration of the government. And it shall not be allowed for any person of what rank soever, to meddle in any thing that concerns the civil government, without the intervention, authority, and consent of this council: And the said counsellors shall be obliged to convene as oft as they can conveniently, and not under six at a time: And when any matter of importance shall occur, they shall be called to consult and give their orders therein; at least, the greatest part must be present. And when any one of the queen's nomination shall happen to die, their majesties shall make choice of another to fill his place, out of the remainder of the twenty-four which were at first presented to them: And in like manner, when one of the five that were nominated by the states, happens to decease, in that event, the

A. D. 1560. tained all the security for their civil and religious rights that they could reasonably desire,

the other surviving four shall elect another out of the remainder of the twenty-four that were nominated first. Moreover, if the states shall find it convenient to add to the number of twelve, two more counsellors; in that case, the king and queen shall chuse one, and the states another, And it is specially declared, That the concession of this article shall in no wise prejudice the king and queen's rights for hereafter, nor the rights of this crown. And as for the salaries and expences to be paid to the saids counsellors, and the officers under them, the lords-deputies engage to employ their interest and good-offices with the king and queen, to obtain these for them out of the revenues of the crown, provided they take care to attend and wait upon their charge,

" Seventh, Concerning the petition presented to the lords-deputies, respecting the offices of the crown, they have consented, agreed, and appointed, That hereafter the king and queen shall not employ any stranger in the management of justice, civil or criminal, nor yet in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, comptroller, and such like offices; but shall employ therein the native subjects of the kingdom. Item, That their majesties shall not put the offices of treasurer and comptroller into the hands of any clergyman, or other person, who is not capable to enjoy a state office; and the treasurer and comptroller shall be invested with powers sufficient for the exercise of their respective offices: But it shall not be lawful for them to alienate or dispose of the wards of marriages, non-entries, casualties, nor of any other things which have relation to their offices, without the advice and consent of the council; that thereby the counsellors may be assured, that every thing is made to return to the queen's profit. Yet the deputies mean not, by this article, to have the queen limited and restrained from a liberty to grant pensions and gifts where she shall think fit.

" Eighth, The lords-deputies have agreed, That in the ensuing parliament the states shall form, make, and establish an act of oblivion, which shall be confirmed by their majesties, the king and queen, for forgetting and burying the memory of all bearing of arms, and such things of that nature, as have happened since the sixth day of March, 1558. And by this act, all those who have any manner of way contravened the laws of the kingdom, shall be exempted from the pains and penalties contained therein, as if they had never offended: Provided, nevertheless,

but without encroaching upon the majesty of their sovereign's; and a third, relating to the

A. D. 1560.

theless, that the privilege of this act be not extended to those, the estates shall not deem worthy thereof.

" Ninth, It is agreed and concluded, That the estates shall be summoned to the ensuing parliament, according to custom; and it shall be lawful for all those to be present at that meeting, who are in use to be present, without being frightened or constrained by any person. And the estates shall oblige themselves, that in case there happen any sedition, or gathering together of armed force, without the orders of the council, consisting of the fore-mentioned number; the whole country shall look upon the authors and assisters thereof as rebels, and as such shall pursue them in order to have them punished according to the laws of the kingdom; that so neither the king nor the queen may be at any trouble in sending foreign soldiers hither, for enforcing obedience to themselves.

" Tenth, It is agreed and concluded, That there shall be a general peace and reconciliation among all the nobility, and other subjects of Scotland; and it shall not be lawful for those persons who have been called the congregation, nor for those who were not of the congregation, to reproach each other with any thing that has been done since the aforesaid sixth day of March.

" Eleventh, The lords-deputies have offered, agreed, and concluded, That neither the king nor queen shall prosecute, nor take revenge for any thing that is now past and gone; nor shall not allow their French subjects to prosecute nor revenge the same, but shall forget the same, as if it had never been done: And that the lords and gentlemen of Scotland shall comport themselves after the same manner, for such things as have passed between them and the Frenchmen in this country. Moreover, if by false reports, or by other means, their majesties have conceived sinister thoughts of any of their subjects, they shall forget and change the same: Neither shall they denude or deprive any of their subjects of their offices, benefices, or estates, which they held formerly within this kingdom upon account of their having had any meddling in the things which have fallen out since the sixth day of March foresaid; nor yet assume a pretext or colour from any thing else, to deal so by their subjects, but esteem and treat them in all time coming as good and obedient subjects: Provided, also, that the said nobles, and the rest of the subjects, render

A D. 1560. evacuation of Leith. Though they were inserted in the treaty between Elizabeth and the

render unto their majesties, such an entire obedience as is due from faithful and natural subjects to their proper sovereigns.

“ Twelfth, It is agreed and concluded, That it shall not be lawful for the nobles nor any other persons to convene together in arms, except in such cases as are approved by the laws and customs of the land; nor yet to invite and bring in foreign soldiers, nor to enterprize any thing against the authority of the queen, the council, or any inferior magistrates, under the pains of rebellion and other penalties, contained in the laws of the country. And if it happen that any persons whatsoever should pretend, that they had occasion given them to complain of injuries and to take up arms; in that case it shall be free to them to present a supplication to their majesties, but not until they have first communicated the same to the council within the kingdom. And all in general shall bind themselves to perform this and all other things which belong to good and loyal subjects, for the peace and tranquility of the country, under the pains foresaid; and to do every thing that lyes in their power, for the preservation of the kingdom, and the rights of their sovereign.

“ Thirteen, It is agreed and concluded, That if any bishops, abbots, or other ecclesiastical persons, shall make complaint, that they have received any harm either in their persons or goods, these complaints shall be taken into consideration by the estates in parliament; and such reparation shall be appointed, as to the saids estates shall appear to be reasonable. And, in the mean time, it shall not be lawful for any person to give them any disturbance in the enjoyment of their goods, nor to do them any wrong, injury, or violence, And whosoever shall act in contravention to this article, shall be pursued by the nobility as a disturber of the public weal and tranquillity.

“ Fourteenth, It is agreed and concluded, That the nobility shall bind and oblige themselves to observe, and cause to be observed, all the several points and articles comprehended in, and granted by this treaty: And if it should so happen, that any one among them, or any other person or persons shall contravene the same, in that case all the rest of the nobility and people shall become enemies to them, and shall pursue them until they be punished according to their deserving.

“ Fifteenth, And to the end, the whole kingdom may perceive, that the king and queen are willing to retain no remembrance

French king, yet they are distinct acts; but A. D. 1560.
drawn up in such a manner, that Elizabeth be-

brance of all the by past troubles and differences, and how desirous they are to treat in a favourable manner the nobility and the other subjects of this kingdom, the lords-deputies have agreed, That the duke of Chatleheraut, the earl of Arran, his son, and all other Scottish gentlemen, shall be reinstated in the lands, goods, estates, and benefices, which they formerly held within the kingdom of France, and possess and enjoy them after the same manner as they did before the commencement of the troubles on the sixth day of March 1558, and as if those troubles had never fallen out. And likewise it is agreed, That all the capitulations made in times past, shall be maintained and observed as well by their majesties as by the nobility and people of Scotland; and, in particular, that which was made and agreed at the marriage of the king and queen. And the lord David, son to the duke of Chatleheraut, who is now (prisoner) in the castle of Bois de Vincennes, shall be set at liberty to return into Scotland, or to dispose of himself at his own pleasure.

" Sixteenth, And whereas the lords-deputies have signified, that the king may have use for his artillery in France, it is advised and concluded, That no other artillery shall be transported out of Scotland, than what was sent thither since the death of the late king of France; and that all other pieces, but especially those which are marked with the arms of Scotland, shall be restored to the places from whence they were taken: And for the distinguishing of these several pieces of artillery, four commissioners shall be appointed, before the embarkation of the troops, viz. two Scottish, and two French gentlemen.

" Seventeenth, Whereas on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, there have been presented certain articles concerning religion, and certain other points, in which the lords-deputies would by no means meddle, as being of such importance, that they judged them proper to be remitted to the king and queen: Therefore the saids nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing convention of estates, some persons of quality shall be chosen for to repair to their majesties, and remonstrate to them the state of their affairs, particularly those last mentioned, and such others as could not be decided by the lords-deputies; and to understand their intention and pleasure concerning what remonstrances shall be made to them on the part of this kingdom of Scotland: And those gentlemen shall carry along with them, to the king and queen, the confirmation and

A. D. 1560. comes guarantee for the performance. The reader, by consulting the notes *, will see with

ratification made by the estates, of the several articles which are presently granted by the lords-deputies ; at which time they shall get delivered to them the confirmation and ratification done by their majesties, and even sooner, if the estates shall transmit their own ratification before that time. In witness whereof, the saids lords-deputies have signed these present articles, at Edinburgh the sixth day of July, 1560."

* Article one and two. [The treaty of Cambray is confirmed : but I omit to set down these two articles at length.]

" Third, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That all the military forces pertaining to either party by sea or land, shall depart out of Scotland, after the manner, and upon the terms, as shall be agreed by particular articles, signed and sealed by the respective commissioners ; such a certain number of French soldiers excepted, as shall be condescended upon by the commissioners of France, and the lords of Scotland, to remain in the castle of Dunbar, and fort of Inch-keith.

" Fourth, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That all manner of warlike preparations in England and Ireland against the French or Scots ; and in France against the English, Irish, or Scots, shall hereafter cease : So that no ships having on board any soldiers or warlike instruments, or preparations for war, shall be allowed to pass from England or Ireland, or from any other part, into France or Scotland, by and with the consent of Elizabeth queen of England ; nor from France, nor any other part, to England, Ireland, or Scotland, by and with the consent of Francis and Mary king and queen of France and Scotland.

" Fifth, Seeing in the forementioned treaty of Cambray, it was agreed and concluded, That the fort built at Aymouth in the kingdom of Scotland, should have been demolished within three months after the date of the said treaty, razed to the ground, and nothing ever thereafter to have been built there : And although the said fort be in some sort demolished, yet not so as was agreed upon ; therefore it is now appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the said fort of Aymouth shall be utterly demolished and razed before the end of four days, after the demolition of Leith shall begin. And in the demolishing of the said fort, such Scottish men as shall be deputed thereunto by the commissioners, shall be at freedom to make use of the labour of English pioneers.

" Sixth, Seeing the kingdoms of England and Ireland do, by right,

what great precaution the whole was conducted, by making the transaction, with every

right, pertain to the most serene lady and princess Elizabeth; upon which account it is not lawful for any other persons to call, write, name, or entitle themselves, nor yet to order themselves to be called, written, named, or entitled king and queen of England or Ireland, nor to use or take to themselves the ensign's armorial, or arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland: Therefore it is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the said most christian king and queen Mary, and both of them, shall in all times coming, abstain from using and bearing the said title and arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland, and shall strictly prohibite and forbid their subjects in France and Scotland, and the provinces thereof, from using the said title and arms any manner of way; and shall likewise prohibite and take care, so far as in them lyes, that no person quarter the said ensigns armorial with the arms of the kingdoms of France or Scotland. And if there be any publick letters or writings which carry in them the title of the kingdoms of England or Ireland, or be sealed with the seal of the said kingdoms, or either of them; the same shall be renewed, without the adjection of the title and arms of England and Ireland; and all letters and writings containing the said title, or sealed with the seals of the said arms, which shall not be renewed within six months after the publication of this present treaty, shall be void, and of no avail. Finally, They shall take care, so far as they can, that in the said kingdoms of France and Scotland, the saids arms be no where extant, seen, or found mixed with the arms of the saids king or queen Mary; and that the said title be no where extant, seen or found ascribed to the saids king or queen Mary.

" Seventh, Whereas the commissioners of the most serene queen Elizabeth did require, that the foregoing caution and provision contained in the close of the article immediately preceding, should be published by open proclamation; and did likewise insist on a farther compensation and reparation for the injuries which they alledged were done to the said most serene queen Elizabeth, by the saids most serene king and queen Mary: And whereas the commissioners of France, after having replied sundry things in answer thereunto, did farther add, That they had no authority to treat or conclude any thing concerning these particulars; and if they should wait until a return shall come from France, not only would there arise from thence a great loss of time; but moreover strong impediments may come in the

A. D. 1560. circumstance attending it, as valid as if the contracting sovereigns had been personally pre-

way of completing the present treaty of peace and amity ; Therefore it is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the disceptation concerning the above demands, namely, concerning the publication of the foresaid caution, and concerning a farther reparation, shall be remitted to another meeting at London between the saids commissioners of both parties, to be assembled as quickly as conveniently may be. And if nothing can be got concluded, concerning the said disceptation, before the end of three months, to be reckoned from the date of the present treaty ; in that case, the said disceptation shall, by consent of both parties, be referred to the arbitration of the most mighty prince Philip the catholick king of Spain, to whose sentence and award both parties shall stand. And if the said catholic king shall not find it convenient for him to pronounce a final decree in writing, concerning these matters, within a year after the aforesaid three months are elapsed, excepting still if the term shall not chance to be prolonged by consent of both parties ; whether there be no such prolongation of the time, or the said catholick king do not put an end to the said disceptation within the time so prolonged : In either of these cases, the said most serene queen Elizabeth's right of suing for these things shall be reserved entire to her, in the same state and condition it was in before the commencement of this treaty.

“ Eighth, Seeing it hath pleased Almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, so to incline the minds of the saids most christian king and queen Mary, that they have largely manifested their clemency and benignity towards their nobility and people of their kingdom of Scotland, and that reciprocally the saids nobility and people have willingly, and of their own accord, acknowledged, professed, and promised all duty and obedience to the saids most christian king and queen their sovereigns : For the better preservation, cherishing, and continuance whereof, the saids most christian king and queen have, by their saids commissioners, granted their assent to certain supplicatory petitions presented by the saids nobility and people to the saids king and queen, tending to the honour of the saids king and queen, to the publick benefit of the said kingdom, and to the continuation of their obedience. And the saids most christian king and queen being desirous to have their said benignity towards their said subjects attributed to the good offices of the said most serene queen Elizabeth, their most dear sister and confederate,

sent, "even although something should fall out which might appear to require a more special instruction than is contained in their authori-

A. D. 1560.

federate, at whose intercession and request the saids king and queen have been more propensely moved hereunto; therefore it is agreed between the foresaid commissioners of both parties, That the saids most christian king and queen Mary shall fulfil all those things which, by their saids commissioners, they have granted to the saids nobility and people of Scotland at Edinburgh the sixth day of July, in this present year 1560, provided the saids nobility and people of Scotland shall fulfil and observe all those things that are contained in the saids articles and conventions to be performed on their part.

"Ninth, In this treaty of peace and amity is comprehended, on the part of the saids most serene princes Francis the most christian king of France and queen Mary, as likewise on the part of the most serene Elizabeth queen of England, the most potent prince Philip the catholick king of Spain, conformable to the force and effect of treaties subsisting between the saids kings and queens, their kingdoms, territories, countries, and dominions.

"Tenth, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That this present treaty, with all, and several, the conventions and contents thereof, shall be ratified and confirmed by the saids most mighty and illustrious Francis and Mary, and Elizabeth, and each of them, within the space of sixty days after the date of this treaty, and shall be turned by them into letters patents, with their great seals appended, and their proper manual subscriptions adjoined: And the said princes, and each of them, shall deliver the saids confirmatory authentick letters, so subscribed and sealed, to the commissioner or commissioners of the other prince, having authority to this effect.

"Eleventh, It is appointed, agreed, and concluded, That the saids most illustrious and most mighty princes Francis and Mary, and Elizabeth, and every of them, shall in the presence of the commissioner or commissioners of the other prince, having sufficient authority for this effect, if required by him or them, promise on their royal word, and swear upon God's Holy Gospel, and every of them shall so swear, That they shall truly, inviolably, and in good faith, observe, for their part, all, and every, the articles, conventions, provisions, and facts, comprehended in this present league and treaty.

ties."

A. D. 1560.

ties." This provision is of the more importance, as it renders the after-conduct of the French king and queen, both with regard to Elizabeth and their Scotch subjects, inexcusable. This treaty, which is sometimes called that of Leith, and sometimes that of Edinburgh, did not, it is true, introduce a new civil constitution into Scotland, but it brought its government back to its first principles, which, ever since the reign of James the third, had been neglected or disused. The exclusion of foreigners, the limiting the power of making peace and war, without the concurrence of parliament, the institution of a new council, in the nominating of which, the sovereign had but a bare majority, and the act of amnesty, which was included in the treaty, were all of them capital acquisitions, and left the best friends of liberty nothing more to wish for in those respects.

Notwithstanding those excellent provisions, it cannot be dissembled, that the article of religion was left too unguarded; and it was easily foreseen that the French king and queen would avail themselves of the loose manner in which that stipulation was worded. On the eighth of July, the peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh; and on the sixteenth of the same month the French army was embarked on board the English ships, while the English troops began their march to Berwick. The latter

latter were attended by the chief nobility of Scotland for some miles; but the lord James accompanied them to Berwick. A public thanksgiving was celebrated in the High-church of Edinburgh; and all parties appeared highly satisfied with the treaty that had been made, only Elizabeth seemed to wish that the Scotch lords should have been disabled from holding their preferments and estates in France.

A. D. 1560.
A thanksgiving.

The public expectation, in Scotland, was now wound up to the highest pitch. The eyes of all were fixed upon the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the tenth of July, and which was more numerous than, perhaps, ever had been known in that kingdom. It appears from the catalogue of the members, which has come to our hands, that the lesser barons (by whom I mean those who were not lords of parliament) had a right to be present; and, therefore, I must be of opinion that it was optional for them to appear either in their own persons, or by their representatives. What the precise number of the members was we know not; because the list, after mentioning all the noblemen and gentlemen of principal note in Scotland by their names, adds, "with many other barons, freeholders, and landed men, without armour." In short, I am inclined to consider this parliament not so much the representative, as the collective, body of the Scotch landholders.

and a parliament.

Keith.

Nothing

A. D. 1560.

Its proceed-
ings.

Nothing could be more ridiculous or absurd than an objection which was started the first day against the legality of the meeting, because no person was present to represent the sovereign, and because no commission had arrived from the queen, or her husband. This objection was very sensibly over-ruled by the members, on account of the stipulation, that a parliament should be kept in the month of August; and that the same should be as lawful, in all respects, as if it were ordained by the express commandment of their majesties. The meeting was adjourned from the tenth of July to the first of August following; and upon its reassembling, and proceeding to business, the voices of the members were almost unanimous in favour of the new religion, tho' it is certain that many of the most violent popish prelates were present in the assembly; but they observed a profound silence during the debates. The lords of the articles were chosen, without any regard to the order of prelacy, from those members who were best affected towards the Reformation; and all the debates about the legality of the meeting being over-ruled, a paper, in form of a supplication, was presented to the assembly, demanding, "First, That the doctrines of transubstantiation, justification by works, indulgence, purgatory, pilgrimage, and invocation of saints, be abolished by authority of parliament. Second,

cond, That the profanation of the holy sacraments be prevented, and the discipline of the ancient church restored. Third, That the pope's usurped authority may be abolished, and the patrimony of the church employed to the sustentation of the ministry, the provision of schools, and support of the poor."

A.D. 1560.

This supplication admitted of great debates. It was agreed, on all hands, that a reformation was necessary, with regard to the doctrinal and practical parts of religion; and that a confession of faith should be drawn up, to be approved of by the assembly. The third article was not so easily settled, as many of the leading congregationists were in possession of ecclesiastical property, which they did not chuse to refund. This article was therefore postponed; and the reformed ministers were required immediately to draw up a summary of the religious doctrines they wanted to be established, which they accordingly did, in the form of a confession of faith, and which was authorized by the states on the seventeenth of August. It was highly observable, that during all the debates on this head, no argument was advanced in favour of the old religion; and the earl Marischal, who, though a high royalist, professed the reformed religion, said, "That the silence of that party was a tacit condemnation of popery, and an evidence in favour of the confession." On the other hand,

and resolutions.

A.D. 1560. it has been pretended, that the popish clergy must have endangered their own lives, had they made any opposition; and that the duke of Chatleheraut's violence was such, that he threatened his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, with death, if he attempted to oppose the confession. The parliament, next, proceeded to abolish the mass by an act, declaring the former clergy to be only usurping ministers, and the new preachers to be the only persons that have power to administer the holy sacraments. The sayers and hearers of mass were, for the first fault, to suffer the confiscation of all their goods whatsoever, moveable and immoveable, and a corporal, discretionary, punishment besides; for the second fault, banishment out of the kingdom; and for the third, loss of life. Those ordinances are mortifying considerations to the pride of men, who adopted the same spirit of persecution which they themselves, of late, had so severely felt, and so bravely opposed.

By another act, the pope's authority in Scotland was abolished; and all laws concerning religion were repealed, that did not coincide with the confession of faith that had been so lately approved of by the states. Besides those leading acts, others were made, disabling the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates, from granting leases of their church lands, and enabling the landholders to seize upon

A.D. 1560.

upon their tenths; but to keep them in their hands, till the sense of parliament could be known how they were to be disposed of. It appears, likewise, from an extract of this parliament's proceedings, published by Mr. Keith, from the Scotch college at Paris, that the ecclesiastics had been twice called upon to exhibit their bills of complaint; but that having preferred none, the lords and nobility concluded that they had done their duty, according to the articles of the peace. Several other private acts passed in the same meeting, ratifying, to the lords and members of the congregation, the pensions that had been granted them by the crown, though not confirmed by the pope. Before the meeting broke up, the lords of the regency, as they may be called, were named, and the choice fell upon the duke of Chatleheraut, the lord Arran, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athol, Menteith, Marischal and Rothes; the lords James, Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvie, St. John, and the master of Maxwell; the lairds (or lesser barons) of Londy, Pitarrow, Dun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrick, and young Ledington. Out of the above four and twenty noblemen and gentlemen, their majesties were to chuse eight, and the nobility six.

According to the pacification abovementioned, Sir James Sandilands, lord St. John of Jerusalem, who afterwards erected a temporal

Sir James
Sandilands
sent to
France

A. D. 1560. lordship out of that order, was sent to France, to lay before their majesties the acts which had passed, and to obtain the ratification of the same. It must be acknowledged that Sandilands could not be a very agreeable person to execute such a commission with two violent Roman catholic princes; and that the parliament, by employing him, manifested an indifference with regard to his success. From the shattered remains of his instructions, published by Mr. Keith, he seems to have been commissioned to represent the proceedings of parliament as the unanimous voice of the nation. To understand this the better, it is necessary to observe, that when the lesser barons met, upon assembling the parliament, they presented a petition, requiring to be admitted into that body, "as use and custom had been of old, by ancient acts of parliament observed in this realm; and whereby we understand, that we ought to be heard to reason, and vote in all causes concerning the commonwealth, as well in councils as in parliaments; otherwise we think, that whatsoever ordinances and statutes made concerning us and our estate, we not being required and suffered to reason and vote at the making thereof; that the same should not oblige to stand thereto." When this petition was read, it was voted unanimously, That the barons, according to an old act of parliament, made in the time of James I. in the year of God

God shall have free voice in parliament. I have been the more particular in those extracts, as they are fresh proofs how well the barons of Scotland understood the principles of free government, and that they could not be subject to taxation or other state services, without their own consent. The nobility, as well as they themselves, were of opinion, that they had a natural right to this privilege, and that the consent of the sovereigns was not necessary to establish it.

A. D. 1560.

About the time that Sandilands was sent to France, queen Elizabeth had ordered Throgmorton, and Sir Peter Meutas, to demand of the French king and queen a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but this was flatly refused, as well as a ratification of the concessions which had been made to the Scotch nobility, under the guaranty of Elizabeth, and the nomination of the regency. The pretext was, that the treaty of Berwick was founded upon rebellious principles; that the hands and seals of some of the Scots to the same had been counterfeited; and that the lords had failed in what they had promised. Those reasons were equally false as frivolous; but Mary, at the same time, pretended that she was preparing to pass over to Scotland, and there to settle the government on a lasting foundation. This declaration alarmed young Maitland, who had been speaker in the late parliament, and he opened himself

Negotiations there,

A.D. 1560.

himself very freely to Cecil on ~~that head~~. It is not too bold a conjecture to say, that the nobility of Scotland, at this time, were so sensible of the influence which the perfidy of the French court had upon their queen, that they resumed their thoughts of transferring their allegiance to the earl of Arran, provided queen Elizabeth could be brought to accept of him for a husband. As to Sandilands, his reception was such as might have been expected from the disagreeable tenor of his commission. The Scotch queen absolutely refused to acknowledge the validity of the late parliament, nor were its acts ever ratified by the crown. The only colourable pretext for this was, that the assembly had exceeded their powers granted them by the pacification, in settling religious matters by act of parliament, instead of referring them to the king and queen. This, it must be admitted, exceeded their powers, as prescribed by the pacification; but they thought, that without such a parliamentary establishment, all they had done, either for their religion or liberties, must go for nothing. In this they were seconded by the voice of the nation, who paid a more perfect obedience to those acts, though unauthenticated by the crown, than they did to statutes legally executed and ratified.

and in England.

The caution of Elizabeth continued to put the Reformers under great difficulties. She complained of the vast expence of the late
arma-

armaments she had sent to Scotland, and how inconvenient it was, considering the power of the Guises in France, to break with that crown. Before the Scotch parliament was prorogued, a resolution had been taken to send the earls of Morton and Glencairn, with young Maitland, to the court of England, with instructions to labour all they could for bringing about the match between queen Elizabeth and the earl of Arran. I shall not repeat the national and other reasons on which those instructions were founded; but there was upon the face of them no great encouragement for Elizabeth to agree to the proposal, unless (which I am very apt to believe) some strong inducements were offered her. It can scarcely be supposed, that a young princess in all the pride of youth and royalty, (for such Elizabeth then was) adored by her subjects, and courted by all Europe, would stoop from such a condition to marry a subject of Scotland, only because he was the second person of the realm, and (to speak in the words of the instructions) heir apparent to the crown, especially as the reigning queen had not yet reached the twentieth year of her age. Add to this, that Elizabeth was personally acquainted with the earl of Arran, and knew him to be a nobleman of weak intellects, as soon after appeared by the state of insanity into which he fell, I am therefore inclined to believe, that
had

A. D. 1560.

about Elizabeth's marriage with the earl of Arran.

Burnet.

Keith.

had Elizabeth been favourable to this match, the estates of Scotland would have put her and the earl in possession of the kingdom. The state of parties favours this conjecture. The leading ecclesiastics, then in Scotland, were devoted to the aggrandizement of the Hamilton family; and the order of parliament, for bringing about the match, was signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dunblane, Argyle, and the elect of the Isles; and by as many abbots and priors, viz. the prior of St. Andrew's, abbots of Arbroth, Newbottle, and Culrois; the commendator of Kilwinning, and the prior of Lochleven; also by the duke, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the lords Erskine, Gordon, Salton, Hay, Ochiltree, Innermeth, Bæyd, Lindsay, Gray, and some others, whose names cannot be read; and by eighteen provosts of burghs. The instructions, besides the affair of the marriage, were filled with the most grateful acknowledgments to Elizabeth, for the obligations she had conferred upon the realm of Scotland.

About the time that this proposal was made to Elizabeth, the family of the Guise had obtained many advantages over the French hugonots, and had reduced them to a low pass. This added to the caution of Elizabeth; but she treated the Scotch commissioners with a politeness,

politeness, and their business with a delicacy that was peculiar to herself, though without leaving them any room to hope for success in the affair of the marriage. Her answer has been printed; and though it is too long to be inserted here, it appears pretty plainly that the commissioners had not barely confined themselves to the proposal of marriage, but that an immediate cession of the crown was to be made to Elizabeth. "Her majesty (says the answer) cannot interpret that motion (viz. of the marriage) to come but both of a good meaning of the same estates, pretending thereby to knit both these kingdoms presently in amity, and hereafter to remain in a perpetual amity." These expressions can never suit with a bare proposal of marriage, which, as Mary was then in the bloom of her years, must have put the two kingdoms at greater variance with each other than ever.

During the dependence of this negotiation, Francis the second, husband to the queen of Scotland, died on the fourth of December, in the seventeenth year of his age, without leaving any particular character in history, but that of being a weak prince in mind as well as body, and entirely under the guidance of his wife, and her uncles of the house of Guise. His death had an effect, which neither Elizabeth nor some of the chief Scotch nobility had expected. The reformed interest in Scotland had

Death of
the French
king.

A.D. 1560. been cemented, in a great measure, by the fears which they entertained of the French arms and influence. These were now diminished; their young queen might be prevailed on to listen to the voice of reformation; and the general sentiment of her people was, that she ought to leave France, and take into her own hands the government of Scotland. The council, which acted as the executive power there, no sooner received the certainty of her husband's death, than they convoked a meeting of such of the nobility, and the other states, as lived near the metropolis. In this assembly, which was held the fifteenth of January, lord James was pitched upon to repair to the queen, and to persuade her to return to her native dominions. That nobleman had now the greatest credit with the reformed of any man in Scotland; and Mary's best friends in France had convinced her, that he ought, by all means, to be secured in her interest. As she had a natural affection for his person, and a high opinion of his virtue, she had several times expressed herself so favourably, with regard to him, that he was appointed for the purposes I have mentioned. Before he took his leave of his friends, Knox, and other violent preachers, charged him to give her majesty no encouragement to hope for a toleration of the mass, either public or private, within Scotland. His answer was, "That he would never consent that she should

have

1561.

The lord
James and
Lesley sent
to Mary.

have mass publicly ; but to have it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her ?" Upon this the assembly was dissolved ; but it was agreed, that a new convention should be held on the twentieth of May following.

While the Reformers were deep in their consultations, some prelates and nobility, of a different complexion, had held an assembly to counterwork them. Their chiefs were the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, with the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland. These made choice of the famous John Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, but then official of Aberdeen, to be their deputy, to give the queen true ideas of her own interest, and the state of parties in Scotland. He was a forward man, with some share of learning, zealous for whatever he undertook, but warm, and sometimes imprudent, in his conduct. He was instructed, by his constituents, to prepossess Mary against the person of lord James, and all the connections of her Scotch subjects with the English. Both the deputies arrived at Mary's court almost at the same time. Lesley had the first audience. He endeavoured to give Mary the most unfavourable impressions of her brother, and his ambitious views. As he was the soul of the congregationists, and the English party in Scotland, who had given so much disquiet to herself and her mother,

Their separate success.

A. D. 1561.

Lesley advised her to detain lord James in France, till she herself should arrive in Scotland, and settle all her affairs there to her own satisfaction. He cautioned her against her brother's plausible insinuating manners, and assured her, that whatever his religious pretexts might be, his real aim was to place the crown of Scotland upon his own head. If she disliked the expedient of putting him under any restriction, he then advised her to land at Aberdeen, where the doctrines of the congregationists had made but little progress, and where his constituents would, in a few days, put her at the head of twenty thousand men, with whom she might march to Edinburgh, and crush all opposition. Mary gave Lesley a favourable reception, and a fair hearing. She ordered him to remain about her person; but, in the mean while, to assure the prelates and noblemen who were his constituents, of her favour, and of her intention to return home. Before I proceed to relate the audience of the lord James, which he obtained of Mary in a day or two after, it is necessary that I should review the situation of Mary at this time.

Character
of Mary.

She had received all the accomplishments of body and mind, that the most finished education, at the most polite court in Europe, could bestow. In conversation she was lively; and in council more solid than could have been expected from so young a woman, surrounded

With

A.D. 1561.

with all the blandishments of power, and adorned with greater charms of person, than, (if we are to believe the best relations) perhaps, any contemporary female possessed. Brantome, and other French memoir-writers of that court, who are unexceptionable evidences, have exhausted all their powers of description upon her personal accomplishments; and their praises are confirmed by her bitterest enemies. Her influence over her husband was such, as set aside that of his artful, ambitious, mother Catharine of Medicis, and restored her uncles to greater credit than they had ever held before at the French council-board. Upon the death of her husband, Catharine of Medicis assumed the direction of his brother, Charles the ninth, who was far from being insensible of Mary's beauties; but Catharine's plan was to oblige her to return to Scotland, that she might, at once, deprive her uncles of so powerful a support, and engross the whole management of affairs to herself. With those views she treated Mary with coldness, if not incivility; for which the latter had retired from court, and devoted her hours to melancholy, and the consideration of her own situation. Monluc, the bishop of Valence, D'Oysel, Randan, and other French noblemen and gentlemen, who had returned from Scotland after the treaty of Edinburgh, and were perfectly well instructed as to the state of affairs there, had candidly informed

Brantome.

A.D. 1562. informed Mary, and her uncles, of what great importance lord James was to her government, and that he was the only subject who could make the crown sit easy upon her head. Mary and her uncles believed their report; but the latter imagined, that by gratifying her brother's ambition to the full, he might be detached from his connections with England; and it was therefore resolved to refuse him nothing he should demand.

She gives
an audience
to lord
James.

Mary was at St. Deziers when lord James had his first audience. He acquainted her, that the best course she could pursue was to return to Scotland without any foreign forces, and to throw herself entirely upon the affection of her subjects there, who would faithfully obey her as one man, and that he himself would set them the example. Mary embraced this advice so cordially, that Lesley himself confesses, that in his next audience, he saw it had made an impression upon her, and that she was resolved to follow it. When we impartially review the commissions of both deputies, it cannot be denied, that Lesley's was fraught with perfidy and despotism, because it tended to break through the faith of treaties, promises, and every consideration that cements society, in order to give her arbitrary power, and the means of governing by the sword. Lesley, notwithstanding this, relates the affair with coolness and self-applause, and only bewails

bewails Mary's not having followed his advice. A.D. 1561.

While lord James resided in France, Noailles had been dispatched to Scotland, from that court, to demand a renewal of the ancient league between the two crowns, a dissolution of the treaty of Berwick, and that the popish ecclesiastics should be replaced in their livings. Elizabeth renewed her assurances to her friends, the earls of Glencairn and Morton, and young Maitland (who had returned from England) in so strong a manner, that the following homely, direct answer was returned to the three heads of his negotiation.

Aversion of
the Scotch
to the
French.

“ First, That France had not deserved, at their hands, that either they or their posterity should enter with them again into any league or confederacy offensive or defensive; seeing that so traiterously and cruelly they had persecuted them, their realm and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

“ Second, That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly shame, as without offence committed to break the league, which, in God's name, they had made with them, (meaning the English) whom he hath made instruments to set Scotland at freedom, from the tyranny of the French, or at least of the Guisians, and their faction.

“ Third, And lastly, That such as they called bishops and churchmen, they knew neither for
pastors

A. D. 1562. pastors of the church, neither yet for any just possessors of the patrimony thereof; but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies: And therefore as Scotland hath forsaken their pope and papistry, so could they not be debtors to his foresworn vassals."

Lord James returns to Scotland.

The earl of Bedford was then in France, as ambassador from Elizabeth, with her condolance upon the late king's death; but, in reality, to second Throgmorton in his endeavours to procure from Mary, a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Both of them had orders to confer with lord James, who entered warmly into their views; but Mary declined giving any positive answer to their demand, till she could take the sense of her friends in France and Scotland. This trifling had been suggested to her by her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, who had persuaded Mary to gratify her brother, by promising him the earldom of Murray as soon as she should return to Scotland, and to put all her affairs there under his direction. Notwithstanding those magnificent offers, the lord James continued firm in his engagements with Elizabeth, which gave her ever after a good opinion of his person, and steadiness of conduct. If we are to believe Mr. Knox, the lord James was in danger of being assassinated at Paris, which is by no means unlikely, when we consider the complexion of the Guises, and

A. D. 1561.

and the furious Roman catholics there, whom he had disappointed in their applications. He still kept up his interest, to all appearance, with Mary; and some time in May he arrived in Scotland through England.

He was received by his Scotch friends with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and his success with the queen equally dismayed his adversaries. The states were sitting when he returned; and he produced letters to them from Mary, enjoining that nothing should be attempted either against the treaty of Edinburgh, or the establishment of the reformed religion there, till she should arrive in her hereditary dominions. Elizabeth, about this time, had ordered a squadron of ships to cruize in the channel, on pretence of preventing a new descent upon Scotland by the French; and she dispatched Randolph, one of her ablest agents, about the middle of March, to open a new negotiation with the Scotch lords, of the most important kind. He was ordered to press them to form a league, like that of the princes of Germany, for the defence of their religion; to break all connections with France, which might tend, as formerly, to embroil them with England, and to enter into a new and stricter confederacy with Elizabeth; but, above all, he was to procure an association for preventing their queen's marrying a foreigner, and to oblige her to provide effectually for the future

Mary in
danger of
being inter-
cepted.

A.D. 1561. security of their liberties. It must be confessed, that those instructions were far from being decent towards a sovereign princess; and Mary, who had been bred with high notions of her own dignity, resented them. She had friends in Scotland who had informed her of all that Randolph was charged with; and in the next audience she gave to Throgmorton, she talked to him in a very peremptory stile. She hinted, that she knew of Elizabeth's practices with her rebellious subjects; and declared, she was resolved not to take the law from them, especially as to matters of religion, in which she was resolved not to be constrained. Throgmorton pressed her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, which he said did not require any consultation with, or advice from, her Scotch nobility, because they had concluded it. Mary demurred to that; and intimated, that the treaty in question had neither been made nor approved of by all her nobility.

Burleigh's
Papers.

Letter from
Throgmor-
ton to Eli-
zabeth,
June 23.

Negotiations
of
Throgmor-
ton.

Throgmorton gave Elizabeth a faithful account of this conversation; and, likewise, that Mary had demanded a safe-conduct for herself, and the ships that were to attend her, from Elizabeth, with whom she was willing to live upon good terms; and, as an earnest of her friendship, that she would send all the French out of Scotland. Elizabeth, who had trusted to the firmness of the Scotch nobility, disliked this language of independency in Mary, and sus-
pected

pected that she had been encouraged to it by some of the parties in the treaty of Berwick. Her suspicions were just: for Grange, Balnaves, and even the younger Ledington, tho' zealous reformers, disliked the direction which Elizabeth had assumed in the affairs of Scotland, which made her address a letter to the states there in an expostulatory manner, which, with the answer to it, the reader will find in the notes*. Their answer was such, as be-

Knox.

* Right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousins, we greet you: We doubt not but as our meaning is, and hath always been, since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God, straight and direct towards the advancement of his honour, and truth in religion, and consequently to procure peace, and maintain concord betwixt both these realms of England and Scotland; so also our outward acts have well-declared the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours, who have tasted and proved in these, our friendship and earnest good-will, more than, we think, any of your ancestors have ever received from hence, yea more than a great number of yourselves could well have hoped for of us; all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoice of, and so may ye be glad, that where in the beginning of the troubles in that countrey, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousy, or rather malice of divers both in that realm, and other countreys, was such, both to deprive us in the yielding, and you in requiring our ayd, that we were noted to have meant the surprise of that realm, by depriving of your sovereign, the queen, of her crown; and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour, the like; and either to prefer some other to the crown, or else to make of that monarchie a commonweale; matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea the whole course and process of the action, on both our parts, have manifested, both to the slanderers, and to all others, that nothing was more meant and prosecuted, than to establish your sovereign the queen, our cousin and sister, in her state and crown, the possession whereof was in the hands of strangers. And although no words could then well satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds do declare, that no other thing was

A.D. 1561. came freemen, and men of honour ; but some of her former friends among the Scots, treated

sought, but the restitution of that realm to the ancient libertie, and, as it were, to redeem it from captivitie. Of these our purposes and deeds there remaineth, among other arguments, good testimony, by a solemn treaty and accord made the last year at Edinburgh, by commissioners sent from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing, under both our hands, and the great seal of both our realms, in such a manner as other princes, our progenitors, have always used. By which treaty and accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with each other, to keep peace and amity betwixt ourselves, our countrey, and subjects : And in the same, also, a good accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the ministers of the late French king, your sovereign's husband, and you the states of that realm, for the alteration of laws and customs of that countrey, attempted by them. Upon which accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your sovereign's state, quietness to yourselves, and a better peace betwixt both realms, than ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth we know not, (we can, for she, in her conceit, thinketh herself queen of both) that your sovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse council, whereof we are most sorry ; being of late, at sundry times, required by us, according to her bond with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the great seal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the states of the same, to ratifie the said treaty, in like manner, as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh such dictatory answers thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, it is meet for us to require of you : For although she hath always answered, since the death of her husband, that in this matter she would first understand the minds of certain of you, before that she would make answer ; and so having now of long time suspended our expectation, in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference both by messengers, and by some of yourselves being with her, yet she still delayed it, alledging to our embassadour in France, (who said, that this treaty was made by your consent) it was not by consent of you all ; and so would have us to forbear, untill she shall return into that her country. And now seeing this her answer depended, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly

Cecil and her ministers with very little ceremony; and even reproached them for having

plainly let you all understand, that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister, your queen, in time of offence, given to us by her. We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull state; while strangers possessed her realm, we stayed it from danger. And now having promised to keep good peace with her, and with you her subjects, we have observed it; and shall be sorry, if either she or ye shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange that your queen hath no better advice: And therefore we do require you all, being the states of that realm, upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer whereunto we may trust. And if you shall think meet she shall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the peace kept, as ye shall give us cause: And doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And on the other side, if you continue all in one mind, to have the peace inviolably kept, and shall so, by your advice, procure the queen to ratifie it, we also plainly promise you, that we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good terms as now it is: And in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duely sought and promoted in both realmes; the queen, your sovereign, shall enjoy her state, with your surety; and yourselves possess that which ye have, with tranquillity; to the increase of your families and posterity, which, by the frequent wars heretofore, your ancestors never had long in one state. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what mind you be, especially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the peace betwixt both the realmes perpetually kept. And if you shall forbear any longer to advertise us, ye shall give us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. From, &c.

The Answer to the foregoing Letter, by the Council or Junto.

Madame,

Please your majestie, that with judgement we have considered your majestie's letters: And albeit the whole states could not suddainlie be assembled, yet we thought expedient to signifie somewhat

A. D. 1561.

Dated August 9.

given their mistress bad impressions of their good faith, without being able to prove any thing to their disadvantage. In short, matters were so circumstanced at this time, that it was thought hostilities would have ensued between the two nations; but said young Maitland, in a letter he wrote to Cecil, "I see, as yet, no shrinking; and if queen Elizabeth will go through with us, we will be bold enough." Buchanan pretends, that Elizabeth, at this time, had kindly invited Mary to take her journey through England, and even said, that she would be displeased, if she should refuse the

somewhat of our mindes unto your majestie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of the peace lately contracted betwixt these two realmes. By what motives our sovereign delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell. But of us (of us, we say, madame, that have protested fidelity in our promise) her majestie had none. Your majestie cannot be ignorant, that in this realme there are many enemies; and farther, that our sovereign hath counsellors, whose judgements she in all such causes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to speak and write of our sovereign, but also to judge and think: And yet your majestie may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majestie's contentment. For God is witness, that our chief care in this earth, next the glory of God, is, that constant peace may remain betwixt these two realmes, whereof your majestie and realme shall have sure experience, so long as our counsel or votes may stop the contrarie. The benefite that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddainlie bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your majestie rather to be persuaded of us, that we to our powers will study to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our service, we commit your majestie to the protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh, the sixteenth day of July, 1561.

invitation.

invitation. That possibly might be the case, upon D'Oyffel's first application to her for a safe-conduct; but it is very certain, from Throgmorton's letters, and other state-papers, that, upon Mary's refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, she flatly refused, even in a public audience, to grant D'Oyffel's request. Mary complained of this affront to Throgmorton, at his next audience, in pathetic expostulatory terms; and we cannot read his account of their conversation, without admiring the solidity and delicacy of her sentiments. She seems, notwithstanding, still to have had a strong resentment of Elizabeth's connections with her rebellious subjects (as she called them); and there is no denying, that she secretly considered all the treaty of Edinburgh, and the other pacifications between her and them, as so many acts of rebellion, and consequently as not binding her either in honour or conscience. Throgmorton complained of this to the queen-mother of France, who had her reasons for justifying her daughter-in-law; and it was soon publicly known, that Mary was determined to run all chances without any safe-conduct. When Throgmorton, in his next audience, talked to her on that subject, she dropt the following expressions, which are remarkably prophetic of her future fate: "If my preparations (said she) were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen
your

Letter from
Throgmor-
ton to Eliza-
beth, July
26.

A.D. 1561. your mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, monsieur l'ambassadeur, the queen your mistress shall have me in her hands, to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make her sacrifice of me: Peradventure that casually might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."

Duplicity of
Mary.

From the completion of the conferences between Mary and Throgmorton, she cannot be acquitted of duplicity, and of her having a reserved view, which was that of her right to the crown of England, in her refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Elizabeth was perfectly sensible of this, and resented it in a manner not very common among sovereigns; for she refused to suffer D'Oyssel to repair to Scotland, where he was to have secured the isle of Inchkeith, and the castle of Dunbar, which were still possessed by French troops, till the arrival of Mary in her own dominions. D'Oyssel having returned to France, Mary had a final conference with Throgmorton, in which she endeavoured to prove, with great address, that the principal parts of the treaty of Edinburgh had been complied with; and she shifted off the blame of not ratifying the sixth article, by pretending

tending that she had, ever since her husband's death, quitted the arms and title of England. A.D. 1560.

“ To raze (said she to Throgmorton) and strike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters in France, is a thing no way in my power: And it is more than I can do, to send back the bishops of Valence and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to appear at a conference about the sixth article. As for the last article, I hope my rebel subjects will not complain of any great severity towards them. But she, I perceive, designs to prevent any proofs I might show of a merciful disposition towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your mistress? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction I can, I design to write to her about these matters with my own hand, though she would not vouchsafe me an answer, but by her secretary. But I would advise you, who are an ambassador, to act suitably to that character; I mean, rather to qualify and compose matters, than to aggravate and make them worse.”

It is a matter of some uncertainty, whether Elizabeth did actually give orders for her fleet to intercept Mary in her passage from France to Scotland. An English squadron cruized undoubtedly in the mouth of the Frith under Winter; but Elizabeth's deep policy, (for she generally

Her partiality for France.

A. D. 1567. had an ostensible, and a non-ostensible reason for every thing she did) pretended, that Winter was in search of certain pirates, who had interrupted the English navigation. Mary left Paris on the twenty-first of July, attended by the French king, and queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, (afterwards Henry the third) the king of Navarre, and the flower of the French nobility, who accompanied her to St. Germain. Nothing could be more splendid than her expectations at this time. She had been not only deluded into the fatal opinion of her being the true heiress of the crown of England; but (as appears from Throgmorton's dispatches) that her claim was favoured by a strong party of the English themselves. Tho' the queen-dowager of France beheld her with an evil eye, yet her enmity ceased when she left France; and all the unmarried princes in Europe were then preparing to pay her their addresses. She took leave of the royal family of France at St. Germain; but she was escorted by her six uncles, the duke of Guise, the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke D'Aumale, the marquis D'Elbeuf, the grand prior, who was admiral of the French galleys, and other great noblemen, to Calais. Two galleys, which had been destined for the relief of Leith, were there waiting for her; and she embarked on board one of them about the fifteenth of August, being attended by two other transports.

She

She then looked upon France as her native country; and as it had been the scene of her grandeur and pleasures, it is not surprizing that she left it with the most violent emotions, which were, perhaps, heightened by certain presentiments of what afterwards befel her. After she was embarked, she ordered the couch, on which she was to sleep, to be spread upon the deck, and incessantly fixed her eyes on the French coast, till the view was interrupted by darkness. The sight was so pleasing to her ideas, that she ordered the pilot to awaken her next morning, if France was still in view of the ship, which happened to be the case; and she took her leave of that beloved coast, with the words "Farewel France! Farewel France! I shall never see you more!" According to Lesley and Brantome, who were both in the same ship with Mary, the weather proved, at once, both favourable and foggy; and she landed at Leith on the twentieth of August. It is remarkable, however, that one of the ships that attended her (having the earl of Eglington on board) was taken by the English squadron, but soon after set at liberty. This, with some colour of reason, was considered as a presumption, that the English ships lay in wait for Mary's person.

When she arrived in Scotland, she was attended by her three uncles, the duke D'Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis D'Elbeuf,

Her arrival
in Scotland,

A. D. 1561.

beuf, besides the marshal D'Anville, son and heir to the great constable Montmorenci, and other principal personages of the French court. Her equipages and furniture were elegant, costly, and becoming her high station; and the fine taste she had acquired in painting, music, poetry, and all the liberal arts, bade fair to introduce less ferocious and more softened modes of living into that country. Her appearance and attractions were so captivating, that the smallest traces of opposition to her or her family, were not discernible among her subjects, who vied with each other in their demonstrations of loyalty. She was most respectfully attended by the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Marischal, Rothes, with other noblemen and barons of distinction. After reposing for some time at Leith, she was carried to the abbey of Holyrood-house; but she seemed shocked at the rude manners and mean appearance of her people. This, however, may be easily accounted for, by observing, that the place where she landed, and that where she took up her residence, had been, for some years, scenes of the most barbarous devastations, by domestic and foreign enemies. The great men into whose hands the government had fallen, had no other study but how to secure themselves in possession of the estates they had acquired from the spoils, either of the crown or the church. Every nobleman's household

hold and following were the sole object of his attention. All his care was to render his tenants and vassals poor, that they might be dependent; and his courage was exerted only in barbarously gratifying private animosities and quarrels with his neighbours. Thus, at the time of Mary's arrival in Scotland, it seemed to be parcelled out into a number of independent, small, states, whose heads were despotic princes, having little connection with each other, and no dependence upon the crown.

The middling ranks of people were sensible of their own unhappiness; and hoped to find in the authority of their sovereign, a remedy for all their grievances. Her court was crowded by a numerous resort from all quarters of the kingdom; and she saw, with pleasure, the affectionate, though, perhaps, rude, manner in which they endeavoured to testify their joy, and that they were susceptible of much greater improvements in the arts of civil life. Her first minister, at this time, was the lord James; a proof that she was resolved, if possible, to keep fair with the congregationists. Whatever private views of ambition he might have entertained at that period, he certainly kept firm to the interests of the Reformation, and his engagements with Elizabeth. Both he and Ledington, however, knew that those engagements were highly displeasing to Mary's uncles and friends; and they thought that she only sought

where she
is affectionately
received.

A. D. 1561. fought for a favourable opportunity of dividing them from their party, and then bringing them to an account for their former conduct. There is reason to believe, that Maitland, soon after Mary's arrival, privately reconciled himself to her views, in a manner that was consistent with his versatile character; but I am inclined to think, that lord James remained still unshaken in his former professions.

She is required to ratify the treaty of Leith.

Randolph was then resident, or agent, for Elizabeth's affairs in Scotland; but upon Mary's return thither, he received the character of embassador, with orders to insist upon Mary ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh. He, at the same time, was instructed to deny, in the most solemn manner, that his mistress had ever intended to intercept Mary in her passage to Scotland; and Elizabeth signified the same thing in her letters to Mary. To give the better colour to this apology, Randolph was charged to complain of certain Scotch pirates, who, under letters of marque, which had been granted them against the Portuguese, had robbed a number of his catholic majesty's, and other ships in the open seas; and requiring, that, if found in Scotland, they should be delivered up to public justice. It does not appear, that at Randolph's first audience, mention was made of any affair, but that of the pirates. Mary gave Randolph a favourable and polite reception; but disliked his residing
in

in Scotland, as embassador from Elizabeth. A.D. 1564
She threw out to lord James some intimations of his former tampering with her subjects; "But (said she) I will have another there as crafty as he," meaning young Maitland of Ledington. That gentleman was then secretary of state for Scotland; and received his instructions both from Mary and her nobility, as embassador to Elizabeth. This appointment is, in my opinion, a full proof, that Mary thought Maitland and his friends were then detached from their connections with Elizabeth; and, indeed, her compliances with the Reformers were such, in matters of religion, as might well encourage her in that belief. She did not hesitate a moment in giving Elizabeth all the satisfaction she had required, concerning the pirates. She affected to caress Randolph, when he appeared at her court; but above all, she indulged the protestants in the full enjoyment of their religion, being contented with reserving to herself the private exercise of the mass in her own apartments; and she even made it capital to attempt any innovation in favour of the old religion.

All the state-papers and letters of that time, many of which never were intended for publication, concur in saying, that Knox still suspected Mary to be insincere in what she had granted to the protestants; and we learn from himself, that he highly condemned even the
lord

Penetration
of Knox.

A.D. 1561. Lord James, for his consenting that she might have the exercise of the mass in her apartments. That nobleman had still stuck by the declaration he made, when he was sent from his party to France, that he never would consent that the queen should be indulged in having the mass publicly celebrated; but he thought his honour engaged in protecting her in its private exercise. His two brothers, the lord John prior of Coldingham, and the lord Robert abbot of Holy-rood house, who had likewise declared themselves protestants, agreed in opinion with lord James; and even guarded the door of the royal chapel to preserve the priest from insult, while he was performing his office. This moderation, or defection, as it was called, in the queen's three bastard brothers, gave great offence to Knox and his party; and the earl of Arran entered a very warm, and indeed enthusiastic, protestation against the indulgence that had been shewn to the queen.

A privy-council appointed.

On the sixth of September, the queen appointed a privy-council, consisting of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Errol, Marischal, Athol, Morton, Montrose and Glencairn; the lord James, and the lord Erskine, with the treasurer, secretary of state, clerk of register, and justice clerk. We are told with great appearance of truth, that this list of privy-counsellors had been dictated

OF SCOTLAND.

tated by the lord James; and the members appointed, were so nearly connected with him and his party, that several people, according to Lesley, thought that he had formed a design to possess himself of the crown. Thus much may be truly said, that some persons in the list could not be supposed very agreeable to Mary. The duke of Chatleheraut was so far from coming to court, that he was busy, to Mary's great disquiet, in fortifying his castle of Dumbarton; and his son the earl of Arran had, as we have seen, declared open war against the mass; and said, that he would not come near a court where it was celebrated.

The instructions of Maitland were fraught with general professions of friendship and respect for that princess; but these could not amuse Elizabeth and her ministers, especially Cecil, who still kept up his correspondence with Knox. They demanded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary, by this time, had been told, that the English council had declared it, under their hands, to be their opinion, that she was not the next heir to the crown of England, after Elizabeth's decease. It does not appear, whether this intelligence was not an invention of Mary's secret enemies, to embroil her with Elizabeth; but it is certain, that no mention is made of it in Ledington's instructions, though it is more than probable, that he had received private direc-

Negotiation
of Mait-
land.

A. D. 1561. tions from Mary on that head. Buchanan gives a particular, and Camden a more general, relation of what passed on this head, between Elizabeth and the Scotch ambassador, both which do not differ much from the state-papers, and the relations of other historians. Upon Elizabeth's demanding the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, Maitland required, that commissioners might be appointed to review it. He proposed, that his mistress, the queen of Scotland, should not use the titles or arms of England, while Elizabeth, or any issue from her, was alive; but, at the same time, that Elizabeth should bind herself, and her posterity, to do nothing in prejudice of Mary's succession to the crown of England. This was touching Elizabeth upon so tender a point, that she never would suffer it to be discussed by her most favourite ministers and counsellors. She could not conceal her displeasure and indignation at its being proposed by a foreign ambassador. At last, she insisted upon Mary's ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, previous to all other considerations; and that it was an unprecedented thing for any prince to declare his, or her, successor in their own life-time. Maitland endeavoured to shew, that the case of his mistress differed from any other of the same kind, on account of the injuries that had been done to her family's succession, by former kings and parliaments of England; and in
prejudice

prejudice of the marriage contract between James the fourth, and Margaret, daughter to Henry the seventh. With regard to the ratification demanded by Elizabeth, he represented her inexperience in the affairs of her kingdom; the perpetual hurry she had been engaged in, ever since her arrival in Scotland; and her having, at the time of his departure from thence, not fixed a privy-council, whom she was to consult in the management of her affairs.

It must be candidly admitted, that if Elizabeth had her objections to the conduct of Mary, for delaying her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and assuming the arms of England, those of Mary were equally strong, for no longer suffering her succession to be precarious, and to remain in the breast of Elizabeth, and her parliament. Elizabeth, at last, seemed to make some allowances for the arguments advanced by Maitland; and nominated Sir Peter Meutas to repair to Scotland, to demand the ratification, or Mary's reasons for refusing it, which she might communicate either to her embassador, Randolph, in conversation, or to herself by writing. Mary chose the latter course; and some idea of her stile and manner may be formed from the following passage of her letter to Elizabeth, on this occasion: "We shall not, says she, touch now at what time the treaty was passed, by whose command,

Difficulties
attending it.

A. D. 1561 ment, what ministers, how they were authorized, nor particularly examine the sufficiency of their commission, though the most slender of these heads deserve consideration. How prejudicial that treaty is to the title and interest which may fall to us by birth and natural descent of your own lineage, may be easily perceived by inspection of the treaty itself; and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapt up in obscure terms." Upon the whole, Mary did not directly refuse the ratification required of her; and expressed herself, on all occasions, as being strongly inclined to have a personal interview with Elizabeth; a proposal that was far from being agreeable to Knox and his party, whose motions I am now to attend.

Keith, p.
213.

Mary ques-
tions Knox.

The indecent protestation made by the earl of Arran, which I have mentioned, contained the real sentiments of that preacher; and it is amazing with what spirit and intrepidity he resisted the importunities of the most popular heads of his party, that he would moderate his zeal, at least, while the queen continued to give no public offence by the public profession of her religion. On the last of August, he preached a sermon, with more acrimony than ever, against popery, which he called idolatry, declaring that one mass (and only one had been then celebrated in the queen's chapel) was more frightful to him, than if ten thousand armed

armed enemies were landed in any part of the kingdom. The heads of his own party were offended at this intemperate declaration, and talked to him in pretty free terms concerning its absurdity; but to no purpose. Mary was not ignorant of this incident, and ordered Knox to attend her, which he accordingly did; and he himself, in his History, has left a detail of the conversation. Randolph mentions it in one of his dispatches to Cecil, and says, "he knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief." The conversation, in short, ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Mary taxed him with his furious invectives against all who differed with him in opinion; with the intemperate language he made use of in his sermons; and with the doctrine of his book against the government of women. The apology that Knox offered for his conduct, consisted in railing against the idolatry of the mass, and in professing, that he would give to her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers.

The sermons of Knox had such an effect, as once more to threaten the public tranquillity. An attempt was made by some of the zealous Reformers to destroy the papers and furniture of the queen's chapel, where the priest was preparing

Zeal of the
Reformers.

A. D. 1561: preparing to celebrate mass, on the first of November. This daring insult was resented by the lord James, and the earl of Huntley, but in a very different manner. The former had, by his personal authority, quieted the tumult; but Huntley was for sanguinary measures, and offered to the queen's uncles, if she would give him permission, to re-establish the mass, by force, in all the northern counties. Mary, adhering still to her moderate conduct, rejected Huntley's proposal; and she, undoubtedly, about this time, as will appear plainly in the sequel, had adopted the scheme suggested by Henry the eighth to her father, I mean that of seizing all the abbey-lands. She was encouraged in this, by the great respect and affection that all her subjects, excepting Knox and his followers, expressed for her, on their being discountenanced by the other heads of the congregation. Several of them, though they had been always deemed staunch Reformers, began to question the favourite maxim of Knox, that subjects might attempt to suppress the idolatry of the prince.

Mary's public entry into Edinburgh,

When Mary made her public entry into Edinburgh, she was received with all the honours, cost, and expence, which that metropolis could afford; but in the pageants presented to her, according to the custom of the time, the most provoking liberties were taken, to inspire her with a horror for the Roman catholic

catholic religion. A mock altar was erected A.D. 1561. for performing the ceremonies of the mass; and upon it were burnt Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. A priest would have made up the quadrumvirate, had not the exhibition been prevented by the earl of Huntley.

Maitland was now returned to Scotland, where she displaces the magistrates. which the duke D'Aumale and other French nobility had left; the marquis D'Elbeuf, who affected an indifference as to matters of religion, alone remaining with Mary. About the time of their departure, she had come to a resolution to make a progress through the towns of Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrew's. She was received at all of them, as she had been at Edinburgh, with great affection for her person; but the strongest marks of detestation for her religion. Upon her return, she displaced some of the magistrates of Edinburgh, on account of their having included priests and nuns in a proclamation for removing whoremongers and adulterers out of that town. This is some proof, that Mary still retained a considerable temporal authority in her kingdom. All this time, Mary continued to caress Randolph, and applied herself, with great earnestness, to remove the disorders of the borders, that she might come to a perfect agreement with Elizabeth. The character of Mary, and her two chief ministers, at this time, is thus described by Randolph, whom we cannot suspect

A.D. 1561. pect of partiality in her favour. " I receive of her grace, at all times, very good words. I am born in hand by such as are nearest about her, as the lord James, and the lord of Ledington, that they are meant as they are spoken : I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration, though there be that complain, that they yield too much unto her appetite ; which yet I see not. The lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly ; the lord of Ledington more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerveth from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear, and beareth much."

From the same dispatch we learn some farther particulars, that the duke of Chatleheraut was shy of coming to court ; that he was so immeasurably covetous, that he did not allow his son money to make a decent appearance according to his rank. This young nobleman's character was singular. Having been successively flattered with the hopes of marrying two sovereign princesses, the queens of England and Scotland, he conceived such a love for the latter, as contributed to bring on that insanity in which he ended his days. In the most violent stages of his passion, however, his zeal for religion impelled him to commit such acts of extravagance, as rendered him the most disagreeable object to his royal mistress of any in her dominions. It appears as if, at this time,

Mary

Mary had thought she was in a condition to give some encouragement to her Roman catholic subjects. She had committed to the castle of Edinburgh Archibald Douglas, provost of that town, on account of the proclamation we have already mentioned; and had issued a proclamation, granting liberty to all good and faithful subjects to repair and remain within the burgh at their pleasure, for doing their lawful and ordinary business. The zealous Reformers considered this proclamation as inviting Roman catholics to repair to court. The queen's masses were celebrated with greater pomp than formerly; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's made a triumphal entry, attended by eighty horse, into Edinburgh, and a procession through its High-Street. The earl of Huntley, who had been created chancellor, now professed himself a violent Roman catholic; and even the severity of lord James was so far relaxed, that he had suffered his marriage with the earl of Marischal's daughter, to be celebrated by a masquerade. Knox, as usual, declaimed with the greatest asperity of language against those luxuries, and (says Randolph, in the dispatch I have mentioned) "his severity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound: His prayer is daily for her, That God will turn her obstinate

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A. D. 1561. heart against God and his truth; or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants, in words terrible enough."

Affairs of
the borders

Burleigh's
Papers,
p. 381.

The affairs of England, and the reduction of the borders to a state of tranquillity, next claimed Mary's attention. Elizabeth had made some ineffectual efforts for proving a pre-contract between the earl of Angus and a lady Traquair, which might have affected the lawfulness of the marriage between that earl and the daughter of Henry the seventh. Elizabeth was soon convinced of the absurdity, as well as injustice, of this attempt; and to make some atonement, she had been lavish of the honour and compliments she bestowed on such of the French nobility as had accompanied Mary to Scotland, and chose to return home by the way of England. Mary expressed great satisfaction at this, and talked to Randolph in the most friendly manner. When she was pressed by her uncles to marry the duke de Nemours, or any other prince upon the continent, she declared, in public, that she would have no husband but her sister of England; facetiously adding, that if one of the two queens had been a man, it would have been easy to have terminated, for ever, all differences between the two kingdoms.

To prove the sincerity of those professions, Mary intimated several times to Randolph, that she was resolved to give Elizabeth all satisfaction with regard to the disorders committed on the frontiers by the Scotch borderers; and that she had appointed the lord Hume for that purpose, till her brother, the lord James, could be furnished with a force sufficient to subdue them effectually. In the mean while, she begged that none of her disorderly subjects should find refuge in England. It was accordingly resolved, in Mary's council, that a grand justice-court should be held in Jedburgh, and another in Dumfries; and that letters should be issued, charging all the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, landed men, and free-holders, within the bounds of Edinburgh principally, and within the constabulary of Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, Fife, Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh, that they, with their substantial households, "weill bodin in feir of weir, (well furnished for war) in their most substantial manner, meet James, commendator of St. Andrew's, and Pittenweem, lieutenant, at Lauder, the thirteenth day of November next to come, and pass forward with him to Jedburgh." Other orders were passed at the same time, and for the same purpose; and nothing was omitted that could contribute to the grandeur and safety of lord James, and that he might

A. D. 1568.
managed by
lord James

October 13.

A.D. 1567. that the authors should be prosecuted and punished upon the Statute of Leasing-making. All that Mary did, was to purge herself, in the strongest terms, of any intention to his, or his family's, prejudice; but this gave so little satisfaction to the duke, that he retired from court, and shut himself up in his castle of Hamilton.

Justice of
historians.

The violent prepossessions which the protestant historians of this reign entertained against Mary; their being unacquainted with, or enemies to, the higher modes of life; but, above all, their aversion to the Roman catholic religion, have not suffered them to represent her conduct or situation in a favourable, or, indeed, fair light. Without having recourse to the representations of Lesley, (who, perhaps, erred on the other extreme) if we consult Randolph, whose narrative is far from being partial to Mary, they admit of a more pleasing view. From him it is plain, that the general declamations of Buchanan and Knox, against the licentious living of the queen and her court, was founded only upon the innocent diversions of which, from her former state of life, and perhaps by nature she was fond. These were, indeed, incompatible with the gloomy sentiments of such religionists as Knox; but they were far from being disagreeable even to the lord James, or the leading men of quality among the Reformers; so that the dislike they afterwards shewed to them, probably

probably proceeded from political motives. A. D. 1562. Her personal behaviour was irreproachable; for though Randolph was in the secret of Knox and all the Reformers, yet we find no imputation of levity, far less of immorality, laid to her charge. On the contrary, he tells Cecil, that she had severely reprimanded some of her principal courtiers, who had behaved riotously upon the streets of Edinburgh. We may likewise gather, from more than one of the same minister's dispatches, that the behaviour of the earl of Arran, Knox, and the zealous Reformers towards her, was disrespectful, and unbecoming in subjects.

With regard to Mary's political and religious conduct (for the one is connected with the other), I am inclined to think, that she was driven from the plan of moderation she had laid down, by the intractable undutiful behaviour of the same zealots; and this I apprehend must appear from the representation of facts in which all parties are agreed; but when I say this, I am far from denying, that she had a strong bias for popery, and an aversion towards the protestant religion. She had, however, placed the head of that religion in her dominions, at the head of her councils. She had made him her own delegate; and notwithstanding his acknowledged severity of manners, he was, at this time, an advocate not only for her conduct, but her sincerity. After
he

Conduct of
Mary.

A.D. 1567.

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managed by
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A. D. 1561. he had reduced the borderers, and entered into an agreement with the lord Gray, and Sir John Foster, two of the English wardens, for the future pacification of those parts, and had returned to Edinburgh, the queen immediately dismissed the guard of noblemen, which had given so much offence to the Reformers; and her behaviour to the Roman catholic bishops was wise and steady. They took the advantage of that opportunity to apply to be restored to their power and temporalities, and offered to raise a large contribution on that condition. Mary's answer was, that their cause must come under the cognizance of a parliament; adding, that "that which is done by an order and good advice may longest continue." The prelates finding themselves disappointed in this application, complained of the lord James as having too great authority in the kingdom, and of young Maitland having "a crafty head and a fell (sharp) tongue;" but their chief apprehension arose from the proposed interview between Mary and Elizabeth, which they thought must terminate in the utter ruin of the catholic religion in Scotland, and her own conversion to protestantism. Mary gave them no satisfaction as to any of their complaints; and, at last, she dismissed them somewhat abruptly. This application of the prelates, and its failure, is a proof, I think, that Mary (at that time at least) acted without any duplicity towards her protestant

testant subjects. She is charged, with some A. D. 1561.
justice, for having afterwards departed from those principles of moderation; to account for which, it is necessary I should here take a review of what was passing upon the continent, and in England.

The queen-mother of France, after Mary's departure to Scotland, became possessed of the regency, and openly favoured the French hugonots, in opposition to the Guises, of whose power and influence she was jealous. As her proceedings seemed to point at the establishment of the Reformation in France, the Guises united themselves with the constable; and the queen-mother being afraid, that the protestants would invest the regency in the king of Navarre, consented to the famous conferences at Poissy, between the heads of the Romish and the protestant clergy, their principal champions being the cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, and Theodore Beza. Those conferences, as usually happens in such cases, left the breach between the two parties wider than ever. They, however, gave the king of Navarre, who had always professed great moderation in religious matters, a handle for declaring himself in favour of the Roman catholics. That prince was well known to be immersed in pleasure, and indifferent as to all religion, tho' not without some ambition, and he had been practised upon by the Guises. They knew of what import-

Affairs of
the conti-
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A. D. 1561. ance it was to fix him on their side ; and they not only offered him their niece, the queen of Scotland, in marriage, but to prevail with the king of Spain to restore him to his dominions. Those flattering propofals won the king of Navarre entirely over to the Guifes, whose party, by this acceffion, became ftronger than that of the queen-mother. A pacification was then fubfifting between the Roman catholics and the hugonots ; but it was broken (it is uncertain whether by defign or chance) by the duke of Guife, at a place called Vaffy. This incident threw all France again into arms. The duke of Guife, the conftable, and the marfhal St. Andre, obliged the queen-mother, againft her will, to fuffer them to carry the young king to Paris, which was the head-quarters of the Roman catholics ; and a frefh pacification being foon after concluded, the king was left in the hands of the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre. The Guifes appear, actually, to have been in earneft in their propofal of a marriage between Mary and the king of Navarre ; for the pope was applied to for a divorce between that prince and his queen, becaufe ſhe was a declared heretic. An embaffador from Savoy, one Moret, arrived in December at Mary's court, on pretence of congratulating her on her return to Scotland ; but probably as an agent for the pope, in the affair of her marriage with the king of Navarre, or ſome other

other Roman catholic prince. Randolph, tho' A. D. 1561.
unable to come at the truth, saw that Mary
was deeply impressed with what he said; and,
after his arrival, there was a visible alteration
of her conduct towards her protestant sub-
jects.

A modern reader must have a very confused
idea of the state of Scotland at this time, un-
less it is explained. I have already observed,
that the zeal of many of the nobility for the
Reformation was quickened by interested mo-
tives. They had become, by means not the
most justifiable, possessors of a considerable part
of the church's revenue; and therefore they
were secretly unwilling to see the Reformed,
rendered the established, religion of Scotland.
The consequence of that event would have been,
that they must have refunded all that they had
seized of the church's revenues. The self-
denying professions and humble deportment
of the few preachers who then laboured in the
ministry, admitted their receiving as stipends
but a very small part of the large revenue in
question; and the consequence must have been,
that the ejection of the prelates and the other Ro-
mish clergy out of their temporalities, must
have rendered the queen as powerful and de-
spotic in Scotland, as her grand uncle Henry
the eighth had ever been in England, upon a si-
milar occasion. Many of the clergy, especially
those who were persons of high birth, and had

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embraced

State of
Scotland.

A. D. 1561. embraced an ecclesiastical life merely from motives of ambition, were sagacious enough to foresee the downfall of their order, and had become protestants. By this they secured themselves in the possession of their large revenues, some of which were afterwards erected into temporal lordships. Hence it is, that we see priors, abbots, commendators, nay sometimes bishops, enlisted under the banners of protestantism, and bravely fighting in the field against popery; but the possession of their temporalities must have been rendered precarious, the moment the protestant religion had been established, by law, in Scotland.

Besides the ecclesiastics abovementioned, many others had, from the commencement of the Reformation, disposed of their lands in fee-farm, long-leases, or in other shapes, to their friends and relations, and had obtained a confirmation of such deeds from the court of Rome; but all intercourse with the pope was now prohibited under severe penalties. From this short representation, it plainly appears, that the reformation of religion, without any eye to temporal enjoyments, was far from being the sole principle on which the Reformation had been embraced by its chief professors in Scotland.

It may, on the other hand, be urged, that the temporal benefit arising to the nobility and great landholders of Scotland was accidental
and

and inevitable, in a country where a feudal aristocracy, as in Scotland, was the governing principle of the constitution. To have thrown those vast revenues into the hands of a protestant clergy, must have been a strong temptation for them to have fallen into that sensuality, pride, and ignorance, for which their predecessors had been so justly condemned and ejected. To have vested them in the crown, must have been still more dangerous, for the reasons above specified; and, more than probably, would have been fatal to the civil liberties of the country. Whether a medium for the employment of those revenues to the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and other arts of life, might not have been fallen upon, I shall not pretend to say; but even in that case, great objections and difficulties must have arisen about the persons with whom they were to be lodged, and by whom they were to be applied and directed: but I am now to proceed in my narrative.

The convention of estates, which met at Edinburgh in December, was called together solely to deliberate on settling the affairs of the church; and on the twenty-second of the same month, the Reformed clergy presented a petition, praying, that the queen would banish the mass both from her own person, and out of her kingdom; that she would establish the book of Reformation and discipline which

had

A convention
of
estates.

A. D. 1561. had been compiled by Knox and his associates; that an act might pass for the maintenance of the ministers; and that all professed papists should be removed from the court of session. This petition occasioned great debates; but the assembly could not decently reject that part of it which related to the maintenance of the ministers, who had hitherto subsisted in a very poor and precarious manner. It was therefore agreed, that the popish ecclesiastics should give in rentals of all their temporalities, one third of which was to be paid into the hands of the queen for the maintenance of ministers; the relief of the poor, and other charitable purposes. This act, which was ratified by the queen, was equally disagreeable to the protestants as the papists. Knox railed against it with a most unbounded licentiousness. The earls of Argyle, Morton, and Mar, (for so the lord James was then designed) secretary Maitland, the justice-clerk, and clerk register, with Wishart of Pitarrow, all of them staunch Reformers, were appointed to modify the annual stipends to be paid to the several preachers. A hundred marks Scots, which, at that time, amounted to about seven pounds sterling, was the general rate, though a few had three hundred marks. "Who would have thought (said Knox, in his usual spirited strain) that when Pharaoh ruled in Egypt, his brethren should have travelled for victuals?" From the most

the proceed-
ings.

most accurate accounts that have been published by Keith and others from registers, it appears, that the whole sum raised for supporting the ecclesiastical establishment in Scotland, and for maintaining all its ministers, did not exceed three thousand six hundred pounds sterling. This diminutive collection was owing to various arts, by the popish prelates diminishing the real value of their incomes; but the most remarkable was, that the earls of Mar, Argyle, the lord Erskine, and other great men, who were in possession of large ecclesiastical revenues, were, because protestants, suffered to keep the whole, without accounting for the thirds, as the popish proprietors were obliged to do.

It is, however, pretty difficult to account, upon the whole, for this transaction, otherwise than by supposing, that the queen had still such a party in the states, as might have defeated the whole scheme, if the distribution of the thirds had not been lodged with the crown. That this was the case, seems more than probable from the original act. There we see, that the prelates voluntarily offered the fourth part of their incomes; but the third part was required, if the fourth was not sufficient to supply the queen's exigencies, and to defray the public expences, as well as for the support of the ministers; the whole to be at the queen's disposal, with advice of her council.

A.D. 1562. that by their converſing together, in perſon, ſhe might detach her from the intereſt of the family of Guiſe. That this was Elizabeth's view, appears evidently from the ſtate-papers; but her miniſters beheld the affair in a very different light. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding their reluctance, continued ſo fixed in her purpoſe for the interview, that articles relating to it, by her orders, were drawn up between Ledington and Cecil. It was agreed, that the meeting ſhould take place at York, or in ſome town between that and the river Trent, between the twentieth of Auguſt, and the twentieth of September. Mary was, if ſhe pleaſed, to carry a thouſand perſons with her in her retinue, and to receive from Elizabeth (but for what purpoſe does not clearly appear) ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Elizabeth was to be at liberty to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but not to preſs it till Mary returned to Scotland, if ſhe ſhould reſuſe to ratify it in England, and Mary was to enjoy the exerciſe of her own religion; but no mention was to be made of any thing that could create the leaſt uneaſineſs between the two queens.

who re-
ceives bad
impreſſions
of Mary
from Knox

From the manner of wording this agreement, it is plain, that Elizabeth depended greatly on her own abilities for bringing Mary over to her views; and that ſhe flattered herſelf with a prosperous iſſue of the meeting.

Cecil,

Cecil, and other great English ministers, continued to be of a different opinion. They had been informed by Knox, and lord James, now earl of Murray, with both whom Cecil kept up a correspondence, whatever outward appearances Mary affected in favour of the Reformation, that she was unalterably set against it; and, in her heart, a violent bigot for popery. They thought, that her seizing upon the church-lands, would give her such an increase of power, as must be of very dangerous consequence to Elizabeth. They were no strangers to Mary's address, her beautiful person, and winning behaviour; and they dreaded the influence which so many enchanting qualities might have, in a country where a great party of the subjects considered her as having a right to be their queen. Those considerations, with the growing distresses of the French protestants, seem to have made an impression upon Elizabeth, and to have cooled her earnestness for the interview.

In a paper drawn up by Cecil, which has come to our hands, that statesman flatly charges the Guises with an intention to raise their niece to the throne of England. "Whosoever (says he) thinketh that relenting in religion will assuage the Guisians aspirations, they are far deceived: for two appetites will never be satisfied, but with the thing desired; the desire to have such a kingdom as England and Scot-

and Cecil.

A. D. 1562. land may make united ; and the cruel appetite of a pope and his adherents to have his authority re-established fully, without any new danger of attempt." This paper was founded upon the report of Sir Henry Sidney, president of Wales, whom Elizabeth had sent to France, to learn the true state of affairs there. His representation, upon his return, was so unfavourable, with regard to the conduct of the queen-mother and the Guises, that Elizabeth sent him her ambassador to Mary. He was furnished with a set of instructions, complaining, that as her promise to meet Elizabeth was only conditional, and in case that the state of her affairs in France admitted of it, the latter were so unfavourable, that she was obliged to postpone the interview. The same instructions proceeded to give a detail of the cruelty and ambition of the house of Guise, and the popish princes of the continent. Then follows an apology for the delay of the meeting ; but offers, that it shall be at the city of York, or the castles of Pomfret and Nottingham, any time Mary should appoint between the twentieth of May next year, and the last of August then following.

State policy
of Elizabeth.

It is easy, from the completion of those instructions, to perceive, that Elizabeth never had harboured a thought of giving Mary the meeting, but with the hopes of prevailing on her to declare herself a protestant, and to take part against her uncles the Guises. Mary gave
Sidney,

Sidney, who was a man of penetration and abilities, a most complaisant answer to the letter sent her by Elizabeth; and calling together her privy-council at Stirling, she communicated to them all that she had learned from Sidney, and demanded their opinion, whether she should give Elizabeth the meeting, as she proposed, the following summer? The answer was, that they thought the meeting would be highly conducive to the interest of both kingdoms; but that they did not see any reason why it was postponed, neither would they advise her majesty to trust her person in England; and therefore referred the matter to herself, both as to the place of meeting, and security for her safety. There is reason to believe, that this answer coincided with Mary's own sentiments, which began now to be more unfavourable than formerly towards the Reformers. A French agent, one Villemont, had been sent to her court, through England, by her uncles; and it was probably from him, that she received the letters mentioned by Buchanan from them and the pope, encouraging her, by all means, to attempt to restore the ancient religion, and to trust her affairs in the hands of the earl of Huntley, instead of her brother the earl of Murray, whom they again devoted with other heads of the Scotch party to destruction, promising, at the same time, that she should be plentifully supplied with money. The same letters advised her

Buchanan.
Spotswood,

A.D. 1566. her to give some encouragement for one of Huntley's sons to hope, that she would marry him, though it is certain, that her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, was then treating of a match between her and the archduke of Austria; and the king of Spain had proposed his eldest son as her husband.

Character
and great
consequence
of the earl
of Huntley,

It is not to be denied, that those letters and assurances made an impression upon the mind of Mary; but such was the opinion she still had of her brother, that she imparted to him their contents, and put him upon his guard; nor is there the least reason to believe, that she gave Huntley's son any encouragement. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the practices of that nobleman were dangerous to the state, and his possessions too ample for a subject. He had long born a principal sway in all public affairs, and had, through every revolution of state, maintained a leading character in the nation. Though a professed Roman catholic, he affected the greatest zeal for the honour of his country, and for her independency upon the French, as well as the English. This principle was a specious pretext for his joining the queen-regent against the English, and the congregationists against the French. Pretending to be above mixing with cabals at court, he had generally, upon the crisis of any great affair, which might have been disagreeable to his private sentiments, retired to the North, where
his

his immense estate and following gave him the figure of an independent prince. Being fond of making a display of his pomp and power in the eyes of foreigners, the princes and noblemen who had attended Mary to Scotland, upon their return to France, had represented him as being, by far, the most consequential subject she had, and the only person whom they could trust for restoring the Roman catholic religion in that country. He was, therefore, courted by the Guises, and the popish princes of the continent, with whom he kept up a correspondence; and he thought himself most unjustly treated by Mary, on account of the preference she had given her brother in her councils and affections; but some interested motives co-operated with his resentments.

It appears that Mary, notwithstanding Huntley was at the head of the Roman catholic party in her kingdom, disliked both his power and his practices. By long possessing the place of lord-chancellor, and by the partiality of the two last reigns in his favour, he had extended his dominion over the Highlands, where he claimed a direct superiority; and oppressed those chieftains and great landholders who had spirit enough to oppose him. He had, by the tacit indulgence of the crown, long collected the large revenues of the earldom of Mar, and applied them to his own use;

who is displeased at Mary's favouring her brother.

A.D. 1562. use; and pretended thereby, they were his legal inheritance. When Mary gave her brother that estate and title, Huntley, though he could plead no title but possession, thought that he was robbed of his property; and having lived always upon bad terms with lord James, he, at last, accused him, in direct terms, of aspiring to the crown, in a paper which he signed and presented to Mary. As the charge was weakly supported, Mary dismissed it with contempt; and it served only to render her brother more fixed in her favour. Failing in this attempt, Huntley is said, by Buchanan, to have applied to James Hepburn earl of Bothwell, who had a mortal antipathy to the Hamilton family, to excite the earl of Mar to ruin the duke of Chatleheraut. Bothwell (who is afterwards to make a detestable figure in this history) was a needy spendthrift nobleman, who had dissipated his estate by luxury and vice, and fit to perpetrate any villainous action. Mar disdained the proposal made to him by Bothwell; but notwithstanding his enmity to the house of Hamilton, it was agreed with the duke's friends, that the earl of Mar should be murdered, while the queen was hunting in Falkland Park, and that they should at the same time carry off her person. Gawin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was to assist Bothwell in the assassination; and, according to Knox, other favourites of Mary were to share the

the same fate. The design was discovered to Mar by the earl of Arran. Bothwell was apprehended, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh castle, as the abbot of Kilwinning was to that of Stirling; and the earl of Arran, with others who are said to have been concerned in the conspiracy, to separate prisons.

Though I have related the above circumstances from Buchanan and Spotswood, yet I am strongly inclined to believe, that the assassination plot was hatched in Arran's distempered brain; for it appears from Randolph's letters, and other authorities, that he was, at this time, frantic, though at certain times he had lucid intervals. The whole of the story is improbable; and no part of it was made out by any evidence. The earl of Huntley, by the same authors, is said to have stationed two of his followers to have assassinated the earl of Mar in the night-time; that he observed the fellows, and escaped the danger; but could obtain no satisfaction from the queen. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that Mary's affection for her brother was now beginning to decline, though she had rendered him too powerful to be able to reduce him all at once. The daily advices she received from her friends abroad; the practices of her popish favourites; Mar's rigid attachment to protestantism, which took from her all hopes of his conversion; and perhaps her own penetration might very pos-

A fictitious plot.

A. D. 1562. fibly have wrought an alteration in her sentiments. Nothing could be more improbable than the charges against Huntley; and no doubt he had friends about her person who represented to her (as some historians have done since to the public), that the whole conspiracy was a fiction to destroy the earl of Huntley, and, in him, the Roman catholic interest in the kingdom: but an incident which happened at this time, proved unfavourable to Huntley.

Catastrophe
of the
Huntley family,

June 27.

His third son, who is designed Sir John Gordon, sometimes of Finlater, and sometimes of Deskford, had a dispute with lord Ogilvie about an estate, which produced an encounter on the streets of Edinburgh, in which the lord Ogilvie was dangerously wounded. Gordon was immediately put under confinement by the magistrates, who sent an account of the whole affair to Mary at Stirling. She was then preparing, by the earl of Mar's advice, to visit the northern parts of her dominions, to convince her subjects there, there existed in Scotland a greater personage than the earl of Huntley. Though Mary approved of what the magistrates of Edinburgh had done, and had ordered Gordon to be confined in a place of greater security than the jail at Edinburgh, yet he made his escape northwards, by the assistance of his friends; and did not fail to represent the earl of Mar in the most odious light,

light, as the author of his severe treatment. A.D. 1561.
 The queen was then proceeding on her progress; and received a visit from the countess of Huntley, an artful intriguing woman, who had been employed by her husband to solicit her son's pardon. Mary insisted upon his surrendering himself prisoner in her court of justice at Aberdeen, which he accordingly did, and was committed to the custody of the magistrates there, till he could be carried under a guard to the castle of Stirling. As the lord Erskine, the governor of that fort, was the friend and uncle of the earl of Mar, the Gordons considered this order as proceeding from the earl, and little better than a sentence of death. On his road to Stirling he made a second escape, and returned to the North, where a civil war appeared now to be inevitable. While Mary was at Tarnway, the seat of the ancient earls of Murray, on the tenth of September, attended by the earls of Argyle, Marischal, Mar, and Morton, secretary Ledington, who was now returned to Scotland, and the lord justice-clerk, a sentence of forfeiture was issued from the privy-council against Gordon, his wife, who is called "lady Finlater, (his pretended spouse)" and all his aiders and abettors.

The Gordons were now in a state of open rebellion; and they had adopted the stale pretext, that they only meant to remove evil

who rebel;

A. D. 1562

council from before the queen (by whom they meant the earls of Mar and Morton, and young Maitland); but that they were perfectly well affected to her majesty. Many consultations are said to have been held about assassinating those three obnoxious counsellors; and it was thought, that if Mary could have been persuaded to have accepted of an earnest invitation given her by Huntley to visit his house at Strathbogie, the murders would there have been perpetrated. Though Mary had seemed inclined to accept of the invitation; yet she no sooner heard of Gordon's fresh escape, than considering it as an insult done to herself, she peremptorily refused to enter Huntley's roof; and proceeded, as she had proposed, towards Inverness. This was a hazardous measure. The town and castle were full of Huntley's vassals and followers; and an army of his dependents had been assembled in the neighbourhood. Mary, on the other hand, was but slenderly attended; and arriving at Inverness, she was so apprehensive of her own safety, that she had ordered some ships to be in readiness to carry her off; a precaution the more necessary, as the governor of the castle had refused her admittance into that fort.

Fortunately for Mary, some of the Highland clans, that of Clancattan particularly, had sided, more through fear than affection, with
Huntley.

Huntley. Among others were the Monros A.D. 1562. and the Frazers; and no sooner was it known, that their sovereign's person was exposed in a defenceless town, surrounded by rebels, than they came in a body to offer her their services. Their example was followed by the Clancatans, who were principally composed of the Mackintoshes, and deserted the earl of Huntley's standard, to arrange themselves under that of their queen. Mary availed herself of their loyalty, by forcing the castle of Inverness to surrender, and hanging up the governor and his officers, while she spared the common men. She then proceeded to Aberdeen, where Huntley, or his lady, or both, endeavoured to gain admittance into her presence; but were refused.

*Mary takes
the castle of
Inverness.*

As the whole of the transactions and insurrection which followed, are contradictory, sometimes in themselves, and to the avowed professions of those concerned; and as we have few or no evidences to guide us as to Huntley's real intentions, we must have recourse for reconciling those different appearances to the genius and dispositions of the times and country. The earl of Mar had, at this very interesting crisis, resigned that title to the lord Erskine; and Mary had created him earl of Murray, to which she had annexed the large revenues of that estate, which had been long enjoyed by the Huntley family. This, added to former pro-

*Huntley de-
feated and
killed at the
battle of
Corrichie.*

vocations,

A.D. 1562. vocations, aggravated by the passions and prepossessions of old age, and inflamed by being threatened with the loss of a power, which, till then, had known no controul, may well account for the inconsistent conduct of Huntley, without supposing him to be guilty of the horrid barbarities charged upon him by his enemies. There can scarcely be a doubt of his being convinced, that Murray, and the queen's other ministers, intended to ruin him and his family, and that he had no safety but by being at the head of an armed force. He had cut to pieces several straggling parties of the royalists; and he received intelligence of all his enemies' motions from his friends the earl of Sutherland, who was of his name and family, and Lesley of Bulquhane, both of them in great favour with Mary. His correspondence with them being discovered, the former made his escape, and the latter was put under arrest. This served only to precipitate Huntley in his treasons, though it ought to have had a contrary effect; for the discovery had made such an impression upon his followers, that from eight hundred, they immediately dwindled, and many returned home, or submitted. As to Mary, her situation (supposing Huntley to have been a rebel in his heart) certainly was perilous. She had made the earl of Murray her general; but she appears, at this time, to have had about her no troops but those brought to her assistance by the
the

A.D. 1564.

the earl of Errol, the lords Forbes and Sal-
toun, and Lesley of Balquhane. She had,
indeed, issued orders for arraying the neigh-
bouring countries to the South; but Murray
receiving certain intelligence that Huntley was
in full march towards Aberdeen, resolved to
attack him at the head of the few troops at-
tending the queen. He found Huntley posted
at a place called Corrichie; and he immediately
gave orders for the charge. He was but faintly
obeyed by the Lowlanders, who were unwill-
ing to fight against their friends the Gordons;
and upon Huntley's seeing them retire, he or-
dered his men to throw away their lances, and
to finish the rout with their broad swords.
The earl of Murray was then attended by
about a hundred chosen troops, but well armed
with lances, which, upon the irregular attack
made by Huntley's men, they presented to the
breasts of their enemies, and obliged them to
retire. This was no sooner seen by the cow-
ardly part of Murray's army, than they im-
mediately returned to the charge, and ob-
tained a complete victory without the loss (as
we are told) of a man. Of the rebels, a hun-
dred and twenty were killed, and as many
made prisoners. The earl of Huntley him-
self, being fat and unwieldy, was made pri-
soner, and trodden to death on the field of
battle, or, as others say, killed by Murray's
express orders. His son, Sir John, was taken
prisoner;

A. D. 1562. prisoner; and carried, by Murray, with the other prisoners, (among whom was Adam, another of Huntley's sons) in triumph, to Aberdeen.

Sir John
Gordon be-
headed.

Sir John Gordon was tried, and in three days was beheaded; being unmercifully butchered by an unskilful executioner, and attracting the admiration and compassion of all the spectators by his graceful figure, and manly deportment. Adam was pardoned on account of his tender youth; but the eldest son, lord Gordon, put himself into the hands of his father-in-law the duke of Chatleheraut, who, by the queen's order, committed him prisoner to his castle of Kinnail. He was soon after tried, and sentenced to death; for the share he had in his father's treasons; but Mary moderated his punishment, by confining him in the castle of Dunbar. His trial is said to have been very informal, and his sentence unjust. The fate of the earl his father's remains exhibits a striking example of the absurdity of the ancient feudal laws, and the rancour of party. His dead body was carried, by sea, to Edinburgh; and kept unburied all the winter in the abbey of Holyrood-house; and then an indictment of high-treason was exhibited against him before the parliament, in the month of May following, "eftir that he was deid, and departit frae this mortal lyfe."

Keith,

Such

Such was the issue of this insurrection, so fatal to a noble family, which was the main support of the Roman catholic religion in Scotland. Whatever their real intentions might have been, I cannot help thinking, that it was at this period particularly fortunate for the protestant religion, that the unguarded conduct of the earl and his sons hurried them into rebellion, and rendered them objects of public justice; so as to afford a plausible, if not legal, handle for reducing their exorbitant power. The friends of their family and cause have repeatedly published, that Mary was sorry for their misfortunes, and the miscarriage of their enterprize. I have already touched on that point; and shall here only add, that the severity with which they were prosecuted, after they were defeated, might give her some concern; and that considering what soon after befel her, she might both think and say, that the earl of Huntley and his family were her best friends. On the other hand, Randolph, who attended Mary through the whole expedition, gives some shocking particulars of the earl and his sons, in one of his dispatches to Cecil. He says, that Sir John Gordon, who was beheaded, confessed, that, at four different times, he and his friends intended to have slain the earls of Murray and Morton, and young Maitland; and that the places, the times, and a number of men, were so conve-

A. D. 1562.

Reflection
on the case
of the Gordons.

A.D. 1562.

nient, that only the hand of God did stay it. He adds, that Sir John likewise confessed, if his father had taken Aberdeen, as he intended, he would have burnt the queen, and as many as were in the house with her. The truth of the last confession is, I think, very questionable. I make no doubt of its being agreeable to Randolph's information; but we are to consider, that that information came from persons whose interest it was to represent the insurgents, and their cause, to Elizabeth and her ministers in the most detestable light.

A French
poet ex-
ecuted,

The tranquility of the North, by the executions of Gordon and his chief accomplices, being somewhat restored, Mary set out for Edinburgh. On the road, she was informed by Villemont, (whom Randolph represents in a very contemptible light) that she had been set aside from all succession to the crown of England, during Elizabeth's late indisposition. Soon after, one Chastelet, a French poet, presented her with a letter from Mons. D'Anville, and a collection of his own verses, which Mary received with great civility; not suspecting that she was the object of the poet's adoration, and that his passion had even touched his brain. His frenzy led him to conceal himself in Mary's room, while she was going to bed. Being discovered, he was pardoned; but repeating his folly, Mary suffered him to be apprehended, tried, and publicly executed.

Two particulars at this time greatly discomposed Mary. The first was, the war which was just broken out between France and England; the other, the convoking a new parliament, which she could not avoid, and which she was afraid might abridge her even in the private exercise of her religion. Elizabeth had entered into a treaty with the prince of Condé, the head of the French hugonots, for putting into her hands Havre de Grace, as a security for the men and money with which she consented to assist him. This came to the knowledge of the French court, who put Throgmorton under arrest. Elizabeth complained of this; and told the French ambassador, that the only reason why she inclined to take part in the troubles of France, was to depress the house of Guise, the open and declared enemies of her crown and title. The truth is, that, at this time, Arthur Pole and his brother, who were great-grandchildren to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth, had been tampered with by the Guises. The eldest brother was to take upon himself the title of duke of Clarence, to land at Milford Haven with five thousand men, and there to proclaim the queen of Scotland (whom he was to marry) queen of England likewise. This ridiculous project came to the knowledge of Elizabeth and her ministers; and the chief agents in the conspiracy were apprehended, tried, and convicted.

A.D. 1562.

State of affairs abroad.

A. D. 1562. Though the Guises might have no farther view in treating with the Poles, than to embarrass Elizabeth, yet the suspicion fell heavy in the mind of that princess, who was highly susceptible of state-jealousy, not only against them, but against Mary.

Elizabeth
averse to
Mary's
marriage.

After the treaty between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé was completed, in all her manifestos, with which she filled the different courts of Europe, she alledged, that the depression of the house of Guise was her chief motive for treating with the hugonots. In the mean time, the latter received a severe blow by their losing Rouen, which the duke of Guise stormed, and where the king of Navarre was killed. Their affairs were brought still lower by the prince of Condé being defeated, and made prisoner in the battle of Dreux, by the duke of Guise. This state of affairs between France and England occasioned young Maitland, by Mary's order, to write a letter to Cecil, laying before him her situation; and that she could no longer continue neutral in the quarrel between France and England, but must take part with her uncles, unless Elizabeth would declare the succession to be in her person; in which case he promised, that Mary should prefer the friendship of Elizabeth to that of her uncles, and all the world besides. Before Mary could receive any answer to this letter, she received proposals of marriage from several princes

Dated November 14.

princes on the continent; and the good understanding between her and Elizabeth, to all appearance, was daily encreasing. Not only the archduke of Austria and the prince of Spain, but the king of Sweden had publicly put in their pretensions to her hand. Elizabeth, upon this, instructed Randolph, with regard to the marriage which the cardinal of Lorrain was negotiating between Mary and the archduke of Austria, that "if she listened to the cardinal, as to any thing relating to that match, it would prove the ready way to dissolve the good agreement between Scotland and England, if not to exclude her from any hopes of succeeding to the crown of England: which that she might not come short of, she warned her as a friend, to make choice of such an husband out of the English nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the foundation of a firm peace between the two kingdoms at the same time, and secure her succession to the crown; which could never be declared, till her choice was publicly known as to this matter."

Camden.

Mary either took Elizabeth's hint as to chusing an English husband, or had already her eye upon one; for it is certain, that about this time, she had thoughts of marrying her cousin Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldest son to the earl of Lenox, by lady Margaret Douglas. Towards the end of the year, she resolved once more to send Maitland as her ambassador to England,

Mary throws her eyes upon lord Darnley.

A. D. 1562. England, and from thence to France. He was instructed to offer Mary's mediation in the differences between Elizabeth and the French government; in which Mary said, she could be no longer an indifferent spectator, her nearest relations being so intimately concerned in them; and likewise between the French king and his protestant subjects. Maitland was farther instructed to attend, in the strictest manner, to the affair of the succession; and if a proper opportunity should offer, to press Elizabeth on that head. Mean while, if any thing was undertaken to set it aside in Mary's person, or any motion made tending to that purpose, that he should enter a strong protest against it, in the face of parliament; and that he should leave nothing unattempted to establish her right. Soon after Maitland's arrival in England, Elizabeth's parliament met; and both houses presented her with a strong address for her to limit the succession to her crown; but conceived in terms by no means favourable to Mary's party or pretensions. Elizabeth was, in her own mind, convinced of Mary's right; but intimated her displeasure to her parliament, that she should be urged on so tender a point. She considered her indecision on that head, as her greatest security; that if she declared for Mary, she must undergo perpetual alarms from the papists, and her own enemies in England; and lose the hearts of her best protestant subjects.

If,

If, on the other hand, she should set her aside, her's might become a cause with the other princes of Europe, and produce a confederacy against England, in Mary's favour. Upon the whole, the affair was so managed by Elizabeth, that Maitland had no ground for a protest. A.D. 1562.

The death of the duke of Guise, who was assassinated in February this year, proved a heavy stroke to Mary, and entirely altered the complexion of her affairs. His brother, the cardinal of Lorrain, continued, indeed, to be her zealous friend, and was a man of parts; but void of those great qualities, either in the cabinet or the field, that rendered the duke the greatest subject in France, and the formidable head of the Roman catholics all over Europe. Mary seems, from the time of his death, to have given over all thoughts of a foreign marriage, especially with the house of Austria. She knew, that her subjects never could be easy if she should give her hand to the prince of Spain, (flattering as that alliance was) because it must expose them once more to the danger of a foreign yoke, and involve them in, perhaps, a perpetual war with England. The Roman catholic party in Scotland was reduced to so low a pass, that she could receive no support from them; and though a steady Roman catholic herself, she found it her wisest course to cultivate the friendship of Elizabeth, and to continue in the paths of moderation,

1563-

State of affairs, and the parliament.

A.D. 1563. ration, and being directed by her protestant subjects. Her parliament met in May; and many popular acts passed in favour of the protestant religion, with the consent of Mary. The archbishop of St. Andrew's was apprehended, and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, for having said mass; and several of the other Roman catholic clergy underwent the like prosecutions. The act of oblivion, stipulated by the treaty of Edinburgh, was ratified; but was extended; for a grand committee of parliament was appointed to enquire into the nature of the crimes which might have been committed from the sixth of March 1558, to the first of September 1561; to point out such of them as ought not to come within the act of oblivion; and to determine what causes ought to be prosecuted, and what not. It was with some difficulty that the queen was brought to consent to this confirmation. She was afraid, that it might be considered as giving a sanction to the treaty of Edinburgh, which she was firmly resolved never to ratify; but upon the lords of parliament throwing themselves on their knees at her feet, and urging, that it was the only measure which could restore the public tranquillity, she gave her consent.

By proceed-
ings.

In this parliament Huntley, though dead, was forfeited; as was the earl of Sutherland, and many gentlemen of the name of Gordon; but

but it appears from the records, that the most considerable among them had not joined Huntley, but had entered into recognizances for their good behaviour, while the queen was in the North. Many statutes passed for regulating the coin, and preventing a scarcity of provisions. The letters of marque formerly granted to Barton against the Portuguese, were recalled, upon Mary receiving a considerable sum for her consent. An exclusive privilege for making salt in a new and more advantageous manner than any known then in Scotland, was granted to certain foreigners; and it was rendered capital for any Scotch subject to enlist or pay soldiers without a royal permission. Adultery was likewise rendered capital; and a commission appointed (in which Buchanan, the historian, was included) to inquire into the revenues of the colleges of St. Andrew's; and to draw up, for the next parliament, such instructions as they might judge most conducive to the education of youth, particularly in the languages (which were not taught in that university); and for the providing of proper instructors. Other acts were made for the preservation of the public tranquillity; and a remarkable one passed, ordaining, that henceforth neither peace nor war should be determined in any convention or council; nor a general taxation granted, unless five or six of the provosts, aldermen, bailies

A. D. 1563. lies of the principal burghs, were lawfully summoned to attend. This had been before ordered by the council; but had never before received the royal consent. The last act of this parliament I shall mention, was that which rendered witchcraft capital; and two persons were accordingly sentenced, by the earl of Murray, to the flames, at Inverness this year, upon that statute.

Mary's
magnifi-
cence.

Mary, in holding this parliament, assumed a state and magnificence that had been seldom seen in Scotland before. She rode to it on horseback, dressed in her royal robes, preceded by the duke of Chatleheraut, who carried the crown, as the earl of Argyle did the scepter, and the earl of Murray the sword of state. She opened the assembly by a speech, in English, from the throne; and acted in every respect with great dignity, being present, in person, when sentences of forfeiture were passed upon the earls of Huntley and Sutherland. The parliament being dissolved, Mary made preparations for taking the diversion of hunting, during the summer, in Argyleshire and Athol; while the earl of Murray, and her other two natural brothers, went to Inverness, to preserve the tranquillity of the northern counties. There the lord John of Coldingham, one of them, died, but unlamented. Before she left her capital, her conduct and compliances had been such, that she had no reason to apprehend that
any

any dissatisfaction could remain in the minds of her protestant subjects. No adequate provision had, indeed, been made for their preachers; but that was owing to her ministers of state, who were fond of handling the public money, and the church revenues, as I have already observed. She had been present during the chief debates in parliament, in which she rather assisted than over-ruled; and she had even assured the assembly, that she was ready to do every thing farther that might be thought necessary for the quiet and security of her protestant subjects. The extending the act of oblivion to the first of September 1561, had left them nothing to fear from her resentment; for even the murderers of cardinal Beaton had received their pardon. All that could be charged upon her was, that she had ordered the archbishop of St. Andrew's to be discharged from his confinement; and if we are to believe one of her best informed biographers, it cost her some tears before she could bring her counsellors to consent even to that exercise of her prerogative. All her caution and tenderness not to give offence, availed her nothing in the sight of Knox. He continued to represent her most innocent diversions, such as dancing, as unpardonable, diabolical, crimes, or evidences of impiety and insanity. When she had ordered a ball for the entertainment of her court, he

A.D. 1563.

Udall.

Influence of Knox.

A. D. 1563. Keith, and other historians of the same cast, pretend, that the countenance shewn to the Reformed religion by Mary, was owing to the earl of Murray, who continued to be her first minister. But surely her employing so determined a protestant as he was to act in that capacity, ever since her return from France, was a proof (if not of her sincerity) of her moderation in matters of religion, which was the only subject, at this time, of any difference between her and the most violent protestants. Murray's own conduct is a sufficient proof that he did not think himself, even tho' the Huntley family was now reduced, strong enough to retain his power against Mary's inclination.

Maitland's
negotia-
tions.

Maitland made a great figure at the court of England. His uncommon abilities, his politeness, his classical learning, and insinuating manners, while they procured him the esteem of Elizabeth and her ministers, excited, at the same time, their jealousy; and notwithstanding his attachment to the protestant religion, they began to suspect, what I believe was the truth, that he was too much in the interest of his sovereign to betray her. The state of affairs between Elizabeth and the French court, after the death of the duke of Guise, became very critical. Elizabeth had disoblged the hugonots there, by her shyness to trust them, or to admit them into any of her military, or other consultations.

A. D. 1563.

consultations. Her ministers, of the greatest experience, had impressed her with a notion, which was true, in fact, that every native of France, whether hugonot or Roman catholic, was a Frenchman in his heart, and would declare against her, as soon as their own turns were served, and a quarrel between her and their court should become national. The prince of Condé was still a prisoner, had shewn strong inclinations for an accommodation, and by his irresolution had forfeited Elizabeth's esteem. She had a better opinion of admiral Coligni; but Smith, whom she had joined with Throgmorton, assured her, that in case of an accommodation between the queen-mother and the hugonots, the admiral would be the first to march at the head of the French, and drive the English out of Normandy.

The queen-mother was disposed to an accommodation with the hugonots; but neither party knew in what manner Elizabeth, who was then in possession of Havre, was to be indemnified for her great expences. As Mary had offered her mediation, Elizabeth accepted of it; and Ledington accordingly repaired to France. When he arrived there, he found, that upon the death of the duke of Guise, Mary's jointure had been stopt; that the Scotch guards had been cashiered; and that the appointments of their nobility had been struck off. Maitland, instead of advising his mistress to unite with

Elizabeth,

Affairs of
France,

A. D. 1563. Elizabeth, had acquired so bad an opinion of the latter, that he counselled Mary to leave nothing to her friendship or generosity, but to attach herself to the French court. It is difficult to say, whether this advice, which afterwards proved so pernicious to Mary, proceeded from corruption, or was dictated by a too great refinement in politics. It appears from the state dispatches still extant, that after Maitland had obtained some audiences of the queen-mother, the French court shrunk in the concessions they had already made towards Elizabeth. Smith, in a letter to Cecil, wishes, "that Ledington had still kept at Edinburgh, and not have intermeddled himself with English matters." He observes, "that nothing but his intermeddling could prevent Elizabeth's obtaining, nay extorting almost what terms she pleased; but that ever since the day of Ledington's audience at the French court, he had perceived a remarkable coldness and drawing back in their propositions." It appears from other papers, that the king of Spain had a considerable share in persuading Mary not to depend upon Elizabeth; and that he never had lost sight of the proposed marriage between his eldest son and Mary.

Dated
March 7.

where the
queen-mo-
ther caresses
Mary.

The queen-mother omitted nothing that could apologize to Mary for what had passed; and made her all the reparation that was in her, or her son's, power. The friendship of Scot-
land

land was, at this time, of such consequence to all the contending parties in Europe, that even the prince of Condé, after Maitland's arrival at the French court, acquainted Elizabeth, that a peace was as good as concluded between the hugonots and the queen-mother; and both parties soon after joined in retaking Havre from the English, and driving them out of France. This ungrateful conduct of the hugonots touched Elizabeth to the quick; and she, this summer, lost Havre, with the large sums of money she had advanced to the prince of Condé and his party. Elizabeth perceiving that she was treated by Mary with less consideration than formerly, had recourse to a master-stroke in politics. She ordered her agent, Mount, to apply to the duke of Wirtemberg; and to engage him to renew the negotiation for a marriage, which had been formerly proposed between herself and the very archduke who was destined by the cardinal of Lorraine to be Mary's husband. Mount, at first, found some difficulty, on account of the emperor's resentment for Elizabeth having already broken off the negotiation; but he acted with so much address and perseverance, that he actually brought the duke of Wirtemberg to renew the conferences; and every thing was even settled, excepting the bestowing upon the archduke the matrimonial crown, which

A.D. 1563. Elizabeth pretended could not be disposed of without the consent of her parliament.

Diffimula-
tion of Eli-
zabeth.

It is evident that Elizabeth, by renewing this treaty of marriage, had nothing in view but to disappoint Mary of a husband, in which she perfectly succeeded. Randolph acted his part so well, that he took care to give the Scotch nobility about Mary's person, the most frightful ideas of her marriage with the archduke. In June, Elizabeth ordered Randolph to present to Mary his letters of recall to England. By this time, Maitland was expected in Scotland, where Elizabeth had obtained a complete ascendancy among Mary's counsellors, and particularly with the earl of Murray, who continued still to be at the head of her affairs. Mary was then thoroughly sensible of Murray's connections with Elizabeth, as well as with Knox, and the other heads of the congregation, who thought they had no safety but in abridging her prerogative. She had not ventured to consult Murray upon her marriage with the archduke of Austria; and that nobleman was now so much in Elizabeth's interest, that Randolph advised Cecil to send all suspected letters that were intercepted in England relating to Mary, unopened to the earl of Murray. Maitland had returned to Scotland about the end of June; and Elizabeth had recalled Randolph only to satisfy herself minutely

nutely about the affairs of Scotland, and to give him a fresh set of instructions of a pretty extraordinary nature. As they have come to our hands, the reader will naturally expect some account of them here. A. D. 1563.

The introductory part is general; and, as usual, filled with warm, though unmeaning, professions of friendship. Elizabeth then totally condemns Mary's proposal of marriage with the archduke (though she was in a manner courting that prince at this very time); and she shrewdly gives Mary to understand, that she must forfeit her friendship, if she continues to be under the direction of her enemy, the cardinal of Lorrain. She then intimates, that if she perseveres in her resolution to marry a foreign prince, she must endanger her succession to the crown of England. Randolph was next to inform her, that she will favour that succession, and the declaration of it, provided Mary will take her (Elizabeth's) advice in marriage. Her proposals

Mary took time to consider of Randolph's proposals, which she communicated to Murray and Maitland. We can scarcely question that she received them with indignation; but she was under a necessity of treating them with the greatest decency, and even seeming to comply with their purpose. Randolph made his report accordingly to Elizabeth; but that discerning princess thought she discovered a re- are received with indignation.

A. D. 1563. serve and coldness in Mary's answers; and therefore Randolph was furnished with a new set of instructions, and with a ring, which he was to present Mary from Elizabeth, as a lasting memorial of her friendship and affection to her sister queen. Mary, who was then indisposed, received and wore the ring with the most profound expressions of regard for Elizabeth. She was no sooner recovered, than Randolph was admitted to an audience. The principal end of his instructions was to repeat Elizabeth's disapprobation of Mary matching with any foreign prince, and to point out the idea of such a match as would be most agreeable to Elizabeth; but without naming any particular person. "Therein (says Elizabeth in her instructions) we do promise her, that if she will give us just cause to think, that she will in the choice of her marriage shew herself conformable to this our opinion declared, we will thereupon further proceed to the inquisition of her right by all good means in her furtherance, and shall be content to give ear to any thing that shall be thought meet by her and her council to be declared in her favour: And if we shall find the matter to fall out in her behalf, then upon plain knowledge had with whom she shall match in marriage, we will proceed to the declaration of her right, as we might do for our natural sister or daughter."

Though

Though Elizabeth had, from an excess of delicacy, avoided all mention of the person whom she recommended to Mary as a husband, yet Randolph made no secret that she meant the lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, and brother to the earl of Warwick, who had so bravely, though ineffectually, defended Havre. When the earl of Murray was consulted, by Randolph, about this match, he expressed himself in favour of it; but though he used more freedom with Mary than any other nobleman did, he would not undertake to recommend such a man as the lord Robert was, to her as a husband. We can scarcely, however, suppose, that Mary was ignorant that Dudley was the man. She received several letters from France, and from the queen-mother in particular, with the most extravagant promises of friendship and assistance, if she would reject a marriage so very unsuitable to her rank and expectations. But it must be acknowledged that at this time she was in a deplorable situation. The reformed mob, afresh instigated by Knox, had committed repeated insults against her Roman catholic servants at Holyrood-house; and it was with difficulty that a priest who was performing mass privately, saved himself by a back-door from being torn in pieces by their fury. Mary was then at Lochleven, and resented those insults so greatly, that she refused to return to Edinburgh.

Violence of
the Re-
formed in
Scotland,

A. D. 1563. burgh till the offenders were brought to justice; and ordered Knox to attend her, which he accordingly did.

instigated by
Knox, who
is acquitted
by the
clergy,

In conversing with him, she soon discovered, that the outrages she complained of, did not proceed from the hasty ungovernable zeal of the delinquents; but that Knox had laid it down as a capital maxim with his party, that they had a right to punish priests with death, wherever they could be found saying mass. The reader in the notes * will find the result of the conversation, which lasted two hours, between the queen and Knox, who seem to have parted with little mutual satisfaction. It is doing no more than justice to the protestant nobility in Scotland, when I observe, that they were far from approving either of Knox's behaviour or principles; and there seems, at this time, to have been a separation between them and the clergy. In the next general assembly that met this year, I find the names of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, and Marischal, secretary Maitland,

* She asked him, Will ye allow that they shall take my sword in their hand? To this he answered, That the sword of justice was God's sword, and that if princes made not the right use of it, the rulers under them that fear God ought to do it. And to prove this he told her, that Samuel spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had saved; neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's false priests, albeit that king Ahab was present. Phineas was no magistrate, and yet he feared not to strike Zimri and Cozbi in the very act of filthy fornication; for he no ways doubted but they were as much guided by the spirit of God as any of these were. Knox.

Sir

Sir John Wisheart of Pitarrow, comptroller, and Sir John Bannetym of Auchnoul, justice-clerk, besides bishops, superintendents, ministers, commissioners, barons, burgeses, and gentlemen in a great number. The preachers complained heavily in this assembly of their poor provisions; and that the greatest part of the thirds paid to the queen was applied to maintain her new body-guard, or to pay pensions to papists. In answer to those complaints, the ministers of state said, that as the preachers had separated themselves from them, and stood upon their own footing, they must depend upon themselves for redress. This produced a very interesting debate between the two orders. Knox, at first, kept a profound silence; but being called upon to speak, he appealed to the assembly, whether he had not been in the way of his duty, as laid down by themselves, in giving public notice of all priests and frequenters of mass? "The danger (said he) which appeared in my accusation was not so fearfull as the words which come to my eares war dolorous to my heart; for these words war plainlie spoken, and that by some professors, What can the pope doe more than send forth his letters, and command them to be obeyed? Lett me have your judgements therefore, whether I have usurped anie power to myself, or have onlie obeyed your commandement?" The assembly did not fail to justify Knox in all he

A.D. 1563. he had done ; and thus the courtiers, or (as they are called in the record) the queen's placebos, were disappointed in their aim ; for they had promised her to bring Knox under ecclesiastical censures ; but to understand this transaction the better, it is necessary to have here some retrospect.

and by the
civil power.

The conference between the queen and Knox at Lochleven proving abortive, Mary insisted upon his being called before the privy-council, and tried for having issued circular letters for all his protestant brethren to assemble at Edinburgh, and to be present at the trials of two rioters who had been concerned in the late tumults. As the assembling subjects in a body, without lawful authority, was an act of treason, the council resolved to prosecute Knox. But this must be done in the ordinary way of justice, and he happened to be tried by the very judges and jury who were the chief agents in the treason of which he was accused. He was unanimously acquitted ; and even the bishop of Ross, a papist, who was president of the session, and a lord of the justiciary, concurred in the verdict.

1564. Mary from this, and many other appearances, plainly saw, that her authority was now divided between her ministers of state and the preachers. She had lost her chief foreign support in the person of the duke of Guise. The emperor, for the reasons I have already mentioned,

mentioned, was cool in his proposal of her marriage with the archduke; and she was touched to the quick with the affront intended her by Elizabeth, in proposing the lord Robert Dudley to her for a husband. It was not till the twentieth of March this year, that Randolph, by Elizabeth's orders, ventured to name that nobleman to Mary as a husband. It is next to certain, that Elizabeth did not in reality intend this match should take place; as she had given lord Robert, who was one of the handsomest, though one of the most worthless, of her subjects, proofs, that could be by no means equivocal, of her own affection for his person. The Scotch nobility, in conversing upon the subject with Randolph, treated the proposal in a ludicrous light; and though Mary discovered no marks of resentment at Elizabeth, yet she told Randolph, that by marrying a person so much inferior in rank to herself, she must transgress one of Elizabeth's repeated advices to her, that she should respect herself. With regard to the bait which Elizabeth had thrown out to her, of declaring the succession in her favour, it could be of very little consequence, as Elizabeth was a young woman, and probably would have children of her own, and as one parliament might undo what another had done. She proposed, however, that Murray, Argyle, and Maitland, should have a conference with the earl of Bed-

Lord Robert Dudley named as a husband to Mary,

A. D. 1564.

A. D. 1564. ford, and other English commissioners upon the borders. I perceive that about this time the emperor had probably discovered Elizabeth's duplicity in renewing the treaty of marriage with the archduke, whom he again offered in marriage to Mary, with a much larger sum than he had before proposed, by the mediation of the cardinal of Lorrain.

whose succession is opposed in England.

As soon as it was known in England that conferences were to be opened for settling the succession to that crown, one Hales, a lawyer, wrote a treatise to prove the right which the Suffolk family had, in preference to Mary, or any other competitor. The title of the book was, "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England;" but though it has been since printed, its contents discover the author to have been possessed of no great compass either of law or learning. As he had made free with Elizabeth's name, on account of her severity towards the earl of Hertford, he was committed to prison, as were several of his employers; and it was discovered, that Hales had been for some time tampering with the foreign universities to have their opinions on the subject of his book. Cecil and Sir John Mason were for laying it before the judges; but Elizabeth reserved the cognizance of it to herself, hinting, that she would order commissioners to enquire into the matter, and lay the report before her, without its going through

through the common courts of law. As lady Catharine Gray's pretensions were by no means formidable, and as she and her husband were then prisoners in the Tower, and under Elizabeth's displeasure, the friends of the house of Lenox publicly mentioned the issue of Henry the seventh's eldest daughter, as having a prior right even to the queen of Scots herself, because the lady Margaret Douglas, countess of Lenox, stood one degree nearer to the royal blood of England than Mary did. This plea, though indefensible, was far stronger than that of the Suffolk family, and found many friends in England, though I do not perceive that it ever was favoured either by the earl or countess of Lenox.

Elizabeth, though jealous even to a degree of tyranny in every point relating to her succession, discovered great coldness in prosecuting Hales, which occasioned Mary (who no doubt thought her succession in danger) to enter into a secret correspondence with Lenox, that by making his son lord Darnley, her husband, she might strengthen her party in England. So early as the twenty-second of May, Randolph had intelligence of this intercourse between Mary and the earl of Lenox, whose pretext for repairing to Scotland was, that he might obtain a review and reversal of his sentence of forfeiture. Randolph hinted to Cecil, that Lenox ought, by all means, to be

Elizabeth recommends Lenox to Mary.

A. D. 1564. stopt from proceeding on his journey; and Elizabeth wrote to Mary to the same effect. It happened that, but a few days before, Elizabeth had wrote to Mary in strong terms in favour of the earl of Lenox, and for reversing his forfeiture. When Mary afterwards objected to this inconsistency, she pretended that she recommended the earl of Lenox only on account of his private affairs; and that Mary had acted with duplicity in treating with him for a marriage with his son.

The lord Robert Dudley was soon after created earl of Leicester; and Mary resolved to employ Mr. Melvil (afterwards Sir James) at the court of England, to sound Elizabeth's real intentions.

Mary's virtuous government.

It appears from Randolph's dispatches to Cecil, though not from any contemporary Scotch historian, that Mary applied herself with indefatigable care, at this time, to the internal government of her kingdom. She appointed three days a week for expediting the causes of her poorer subjects. She encreased the salaries of her judges, on account of their additional attendance; and she often presided in courts of equity in person. She signed instructions with her own hand for the more speedy administration of justice, especially in those courts that had been established in place of the consistory, or the courts which had formerly belonged to bishops. She continued to treat Elizabeth

Elizabeth with the greatest show of affection, though it was at this time cooled. Her protestant subjects had nothing to complain of; and if she discovered any animosity towards Knox, it was only that he might be sent out of her dominions, for his treasonable practices. Melvil, in his Memoirs *, has given us a copy of his instructions, by which it appears that there had been a discontinuance, for two months, of all correspondence between Elizabeth and Mary; and that the latter suspected Elizabeth's affections towards her were cooled. Elizabeth, after some altercation with Melvil, concerning an angry letter she had received from Mary, seemed entirely appeased; and upon Melvil's making an apology, tore before his face the letter complained of. She recommended the lord Robert Dudley in the warmest terms for a husband to Mary; and declared that she would herself have married him, had she ever minded to have taken a husband; but that being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the queen her sister would marry him. At the same time, she

Dated Sept^r
28.

* These Memoirs were published by one George Scot in 1683, a hundred years after the transactions mentioned in them happened. Their stile seems to have been modernized; nor am I quite satisfied with the account which the editor gives of their preservation, discovery, and publication. They have, however, hitherto passed as genuine; and, in the main, they undoubtedly are so. I shall in the course of this history give my reasons if I should be of opinion that some part of them are otherwise,

could

A.D. 1564. could not conceal her own fondness for his person; for, according to Melvil, she even reprimanded him for having, in conversation, mentioned the earl of Bedford's name before that of lord Robert. In a day or two after, when she created him earl of Leicester, she assisted in putting on his robes; and even tickled his neck with her fingers, while he was sitting gravely before her on his knees. That Elizabeth knew of Mary's inclination for the lord Darnley can hardly be doubted, from her pointing to him, (for he that day carried the sword of state) and telling Melvil, that he liked better of yonder long (tall) lad than of her favourite. Melvil, like an expert courtier, answered, "That no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who more resembled a woman than a man; for he was handsome, beardless, and lady-faced."

Lord Robert created earl of Leicester.

Caution about Melvil's Memoirs.

Though I have given those facts upon the credit of Melvil's Memoirs, yet if they are genuine they must be very inaccurate. The author pretends, that his instructions were dated the twenty-eighth of September; whereas it is certain, from the peerage of England, and other evidences, that the very next day being Michaelmas, Dudley's creation, as earl of Leicester, took place; not to mention that Randolph, on the fourth of October, received new instructions, in which mention is made of Melvil's having obtained an audience of Elizabeth. Tho'

tho

the behaviour of that princess towards Dudley, at the time of his creation, has hitherto passed current among historians, yet it seems to have been too indecent and too indelicate even for Elizabeth, upon so public and so critical an occasion.

When Lenox came to Mary's court, which he did in September, this year, he presented her with a letter of recommendation from Elizabeth. Mary had now finished her hunting season, by making a progress through the more northern parts of her dominions; and she answered Elizabeth's letters, (which seem, indeed, only to regard Lenox's restitution to his estates) with the greatest respect and politeness. Soon after this, Randolph arrived in Scotland, furnished with the instructions I have already mentioned. They are still extant in Cecil's hand; but contain nothing material, except some oblique reproaches to Mary, in the affair of the earl of Lenox, which Elizabeth terms a comedy; but she says, that it had almost ended like a tragedy. She closes the whole with an intimation, that she was ready to give orders for opening the conferences at Berwick concerning Mary's marriage, and adjusting her right to the succession. Mary appeared to be in no hurry about the conferences; but was far from declining them; and, in the mean time, she sent one Walsb, as an agent into England, to try the strength of the Roman catholic party there,

Correspondence between Mary and Elizabeth.

Dated October 4.

A. D. 1564. there, and to found them upon her succession. His business came to the knowledge of the English ministry, and occasioned several sharp alterations between Randolph and Maitland.

Earl of Lenox
caressed
by Mary.

The earl of Lenox appeared to great advantage at Mary's court; and she did all she could to prevent the old quarrel between him and the duke of Chatleheraut from being revived. He made presents of jewels to all Mary's ministers, excepting Murray, who was every day now declining in her esteem. That nobleman had declared himself an enemy to Mary's match with Leicester; but did not seem to favour that with Darnley. Mary had probably received some intimation of his high credit with Cecil, and her other enemies at the English court; and whatever appearance there was of a coldness between him and Knox, she was sensible that his not exerting himself against that preacher, was the chief cause of all the mortifications and affronts she had endured. As to Maitland, he made no secret of his being utterly averse to Mary's matching with Leicester; and publicly declared, that the behaviour of Elizabeth to that favourite (which, at this time, he might understand from Melvil) afforded strong suspicion of Elizabeth pressing the marriage, only that if Mary should consent to it, he might appear more worthy of her own bed.

Congress at
Berwick

After several delays it was agreed, that Murray and Maitland should meet with the earl of Bedford

Bedford and Randolph, at Berwick, to treat of the marriage. This measure probably was suggested to Mary by Maitland; that the English ministers having lost all hopes of persuading Mary to accept of Leicester for a husband might, of themselves, propose Darnley, whom the queen had not as yet mentioned as destined for that honour. Randolph easily perceived this to be their intention, and very freely laid before Elizabeth the sentiments of the Scotch court, concerning the marriage with Leicester, as I have represented them. The meeting at Berwick took place on the eighteenth of November; and here Maitland had a full opportunity of displaying his acknowledged superiority of parts over the other statesmen. He unravelled all Elizabeth's insidious plans, in offering Leicester as a husband to his mistress; and shewed, "that nothing more was offered with Leicester, but, in general terms to say, that great good would ensue to both the realms; and that as the queen's majesty, your mistress, had begun to advance him, so she will go farther, as she may perceive good liking of him from thence: This importeth nothing else but a desire in your mistress that ours should not marry great, and herself to be at liberty to do what she will, and dispose of our mistress as she listeth; for plainly I must say, that my L. Robert, as only earl of Leicester, is no fit match for our sovereign, nor in that respect her honour so considered as

Letter from
the earl of
Bedford and
Randolph
to Elizabeth,
dated
Nov. 23.

A. D. 1564. friendly and sisterly, as it ought to be." The above are the words of Maitland, as represented by Randolph. The latter, in answer, proceeded in general terms; and to shew that Mary's accepting of Leicester for a husband would conciliate the favour of Elizabeth, said, that he was a more unexceptionable match than any foreign prince. The English ambassadors carefully avoided all mention of lord Darnley, tho' Maitland gave them a fair opening. He required them to name an English subject as a match for their mistress; and declared that he loved Leicester as well as any other; but that the objection he had to him was, that he was not a king. Maitland then proposed, that if Mary should chuse a husband from any country not excepted to by Elizabeth, the latter should settle upon her a pension, and ascertain her right of succession. He observed, that if such a preliminary was agreed to, it might go far in fixing Mary's marriage in favour of Leicester; nay, they promised, in such an event, to favour Leicester's pretensions. The English commissioners, who in reasoning and eloquence were no matches for Maitland, mentioned the precarious state of Mary's succession; but Murray declared, "That there was nothing more needful for their mistress than to have these matters put out of doubt; and that she could not long remain in these terms, to be in an assured friendship with no man. Their advice was to their
save-

sovereign," that she should marry; the people A. D. 1564 craved it at her hands; her estate required it; and they the more earnest to press her to it, because some envious men have spread abroad, that they would not that she should marry, that they alone might have the government: wherefore they warned and assured us, that if it took not effect in England shortly, it must needs do elsewhere." Thus those conferences broke off ineffectual without much satisfaction to either party, farther than that each found the other insincere.

Leicester, during this period, was himself in a disagreeable situation. He knew Elizabeth too well to believe that she would make him her husband; and he must ruin himself in her affections, if he should discover any forwardness for his match with Mary, however flattering it was to his ambition. Elizabeth, on the other hand, could not but be pleased that Mary had fixed her mind upon a subject of England for her husband; and that by her intrigues she had driven her sister-queen from all thoughts of matching with a foreign prince. She was in hopes that Lenox's estate and dependencies in England would render herself mistress of the match; and she found her views for perplexing and delaying it, (which was all she meant) as well answered in the person of Darnley as of Leicester. The visible preference given to the earl of Lenox by Mary, continued to

Prudence of Mary.

A. D. 1564: excite the jealousy of the Hamilton family, who sued to Elizabeth for her protection; and some of the other Scotch noblemen likewise disliked the match with Darnley. The family of Angus, the head of which was a minor earl, the earl of Morton, and the Douglasses in general, were particularly interested in opposing it, because of the claim which the countess of Lenox, as the only surviving child of the last earl of Angus, had upon that estate. Mary very wisely prevailed upon Lenox and his wife to drop that claim, and to suffer the estate and honours to continue to the heirs male, by which she removed very considerable impediments to her marriage.

Lenox restored by parliament.

In December this year, the Scotch parliament met. The repeal of Lenox's attainder was thought to be the chief business of the assembly. That repeal accordingly took place; and I perceive from Randolph's dispatches, that Mary was particularly solicitous to prevent any opposition from Murray, whose title and estate was confirmed to him in the same parliament. Several acts passed likewise in favour of the leading protestants; and the celebration of mass, excepting in the queen's chapel, was rendered capital, with the forfeiture of goods and lands. Mary, as usual, opened this parliament with a speech, in which she did not fail to declare that she consented to the repeal of Lenox's

nox's forfeiture; at the request and suit of her sister of England. A.D. 1564.

No sooner was Mary's intention known in favour of the Lenox family, than the countess of Lenox asked Elizabeth leave for her son to repair to Scotland, to participate with his father in the joy of their being repossessed of their estates and honours. Elizabeth, who had never yet received any formal declaration from Mary of her intended match with Darnley, had many reasons for not opposing his journey; and yet it does not appear that she actually gave her consent. All that can be said is, that Darnley, as had been concerted between Mary and his father, set out incognito for Scotland; but no sooner was his arrival known there, than Elizabeth ordered his mother to be put under arrest. This was a state policy peculiar to that great princess, that she might still, as she had done in the case of Lenox, object to the marriage, though she had solicited the repeal of the attainder. But Elizabeth, by this time, had her private reasons for wishing that Mary should match with Darnley. The king of Sweden, the prince of Spain, the archduke of Austria, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Orleans, were renewing their several suits for her hand in marriage; and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, was interesting himself more than ever to prevail with her to marry a foreign prince. But a still greater personage now pre-

Darnley de-
parts for
Scotland,

1564.

pre-

A. D. 1565.

The French
king courts
Mary,

presented himself in the person of the young king of France, who had applied, by D'Oysel, for a dispensation at the court of Rome to marry his brother's widow.

It must be acknowledged that Mary's dissimulation at this time, equalled that of her sister Elizabeth. She was afraid that the duke of Chateleraut and the earl of Murray might head a party for renewing the treaty of Berwick with Elizabeth, especially after it was known that the earl of Lenox and his son professed the catholic religion. She therefore affected a great complaisance towards Elizabeth; and even so late as the fifth of February this year, when Randolph presented her with a letter from Elizabeth requiring her final resolution as to her marriage, her answer was, "That if the queen (Elizabeth) will use her as her born sister or daughter, she will obey as a sister; but if not, she must not look to be so far ruled by her: for my mind, continues she to my lord Robert, is as it ought to be to a noble gentleman, and such an one as your mistress would marry, if he were not her subject; but in it your mistress may rule me if she please."

who falls in
love with
Darnley.

Mary was at the house of Wemys, on a progress she was making into Fife, when she first saw Darnley. Whatever sentiments of ambition or policy she might have entertained before this time, they seem now to have vanished before those of love. His age was not above twenty;

twenty; his stature exceeded six feet; and Sir James Melvil says, that the queen declared him to be the properest and best proportioned tall man she had ever seen; for (adds Melvil) he was long and small, even and strait. His face was beautiful even to effeminacy; and, in short, he was such as Mary's ideas had figured out to her for a husband. The effects of his appearance were almost instantaneous; and Mary resolved to send Ledington once more as her ambassador to the courts of England and France, to reconcile them to her marriage with the man on whom she had absolutely placed her affections. She now blamed her uncle, the cardinal, for intermeddling so officiously in the affair of her marriage. Ledington arrived at London on the eighteenth of April; and Elizabeth referred him for an answer to her privy-council, who dissuaded Elizabeth from agreeing to the proposed marriage, in the terms which the reader will find in the notes *; a copy of

* A determination of the privy-council of England, upon the marriage for the queen of Scots, May 1, 1565.

The queen's majesty having understood from her good sister, the queen of Scots, by her principal secretary, the lord of Ledington, that the queen, his mistress, continuing in her former intention to require the advice of the queen's majesty in her marriage; and having for her sake, as he saith, foreborn to hearken to the matching with any foreign prince, hath thought meet to send him hither to understand her majesty's mind in a matter moved to the queen, his mistress, for a marriage with the lord Darnley, what her majesty liketh thereof; and further, to let her majesty understand, that if the queen, his mistress, may have her majesty's good-will and assent thereto, she could incline herself to the same. Hereupon, although her majesty, at the first,

A.D. 1564. which Throgmorton was ordered immediately to carry to Scotland, to be laid before Mary.

first, found this matter very strange and unlikely on the part, as well of her sister, as on the part of the parents of the lord Darnley himself, being her majesty's subjects, and so much bound to her and the crown of England, as none could be more; yet her majesty thought it very fit to communicate this message to her privy-council, and to understand their advices in the same; and to this intent, the counsellors, whose names be underwritten, were made privy to the message abovementioned, and to all other circumstances thereunto conveniently belonging.

And after sundry conferences and long deliberations, and many arguments, among themselves, they all, with one assent and judgment, thought this marriage of my lord Darnley, being attended with such circumstances as therein do appear, to be unmeet, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the sincere amity between both the queens, and consequently perilous to the continuance of the mutual good, concord, and tranquillity, that at present is known to be, and were to be earnestly desired on both parts, to be made perpetual betwixt both the realms: and therefore the said counsellors did, for further advice therein, think meet, that if the proceeding in this intended marriage with the lord Darnley should depend upon the queen's majesty's assent, she should do well not to accord thereunto; but according to the procession of the sincere amity that is betwixt their majesties, and in respect of the continuance of the common tranquillity, should move her to forbear from this, as a thing plainly prejudicial to them both, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both their countries, and offer unto her a free election of any other of the nobility, either in this whole realm or else, or in any other place, being suitable to her place, and agreeable to both the realms; and therein also for her satisfaction to yield unto her as much friendship and benefit, as upon further conference might be devised to be; first, as honourable as this is that is intended; and secondly, more commodious to both the princes, and more profitable and plausibly to the nobility and common people of both the realms.

Wherein the said counsellors (thinking the like of the rest of the nobility, and sage men of the realm) did, for their parts, according to their most bounden duties, humbly offer unto her majesty, that whatsoever should seem meet, and would be advised for the queen of Scots, with some other meet marriage, being agreeable to the honour of God, and justice, and convenient

He was, at the same time, furnished by Elizabeth with additional arguments to persuade Mary to break off the match. A. D. 1565.

Elizabeth chose Throgmorton for this purpose, against the opinion of Cecil, and her other ministers, who were jealous of his abilities, and had represented him to her as secretly favouring the Scotch queen's right to the succession. He had, however, given such proofs of his firmness, sagacity, and attachment to his sovereign, that Elizabeth knew he would decline his commission, if he disliked it. He accepted of it readily; and Maitland, who had not expected so vigorous an opposition to his proposal, or that so able a minister as Throgmorton would be employed to counteract it, ventured to return to Scotland, where he thought he could do his mistress more service than by proceeding to France. The two ambassadors travelled to Scotland in company together, where

Throgmorton sent to Scotland,

nient to maintain the concord and amity already begun between the two realms, the same should be allowed with their advices, and furthered with their services at all times, when her majesty should command them, according to their most humble and loyal duties: whereupon they do firmly trust, that if the matter may be firmly thought upon and considered by wise and good men on both parts, good success may ensue, to the honour and comfort of both the princes, and to the establishing of a perpetual concord, peace, and tranquillity betwixt the two nations. *Primo Maii, 1565. Anno septimo Elizabethæ reginæ.* Winchester, Norfolk, Pembroke, E. Clinton, E. Rogers, F. Knolles, William Petre, John Masone, Ry. Cakebyle, Edward Derby, W. Howard, W. Cecil.

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they

A. D. 1565. they found public affairs in the utmost confusion, and threatening a national combustion.

This was occasioned by the return of Lenox to Scotland, and the arrival of Darnley. The duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Murray and Argyle, with other lay heads of the Reformation, looked upon the great favour Lenox was in with Mary, as portending their ruin, and that of their religion. They informed Randolph that their great dependence lay upon Elizabeth once more for deliverance; and to encourage her to interpose, they began to strengthen their party so as to bid defiance to their popish adversaries, if they should attempt any alterations. The earl of Lenox appears to have been a man of no deep, or bright, parts; and his son's intellects were shallow even to contempt, though his being bred about the English court had given him a decent and polite air. Lenox, instead of moderating matters with Chatleheraut, and the other congregationists, gave them great offence, by his open profession of popery, and greater by his forming a party among the nobility, consisting of those who were Roman catholics, or indifferent as to all matters of religion, or of broken fortunes, and ready to embark in any desperate undertaking. The earls of Athol and Caithness, the lord Robert, the lord Hume and Ruthven, are particularly mentioned, though the latter was
after-

where Lenox and Darnley arrive.

afterwards capitally concerned in the most outrageous acts against Mary's person and government. A. D. 1563.

As to Mary herself, she complained of Elizabeth having deluded her in the affair of her marriage; of her having trifled with her in settling the succession; of her having dealt only in general terms, and endeavouring to keep herself loose as to the performance of all her promises, until Mary should fetter herself by marrying the man whom she recommended. She complained of being betrayed by her own nobility; and treated the duke of Chatleherant in such a manner, that few of his friends or family came to court. Notwithstanding the late cession made by Lenox of the earldom of Angus, the family of Douglas shewed great uneasiness at the approaching match, which might overthrow all that had been done. In short, Randolph thought Elizabeth's party to be so well established in Scotland, "that (says he in one of his dispatches to Cecil) contrary to my sovereign's will, let them attempt, let them seek, or let them send to all the cardinals or devils in hell, it shall pass their power to bring any thing to pass."

Resentment of Mary.

March 20;

Mary was at Stirling when Throgmorton came to Edinburgh, where Maitland left him, till he could apprize her of his arrival. In a conversation with Randolph, Throgmorton understood that Mary was that very day to

Arrival of Throgmorton.

A.D. 1565. create Darnley duke of Albany; an honour to which he had some right by birth, independent of his marriage with Mary. Without farther ceremony Throgmorton posted to Stirling. His arrival there was so sudden, that he passed some time before the gates of the castle, till he was conducted to his lodging. He demanded an instant audience; but that could not be obtained till a few hours after. Before I proceed to what passed at this audience, it is necessary to continue the review of the state of parties in Scotland at this time, which shall be chiefly extracted from the intelligence sent by Randolph to Cecil, and the other English ministers.

Mary's dis-
simulation

Though Mary's passion for Darnley had even, in some respect, got the better of her prudence, yet she had concealed it so artfully from Randolph, that he could not be persuaded she would marry him without Elizabeth's consent; but Mary's personal attendance upon Darnley, when he fell ill of the measles, put her inclination beyond all dispute. Among the noblemen whom Lenox thought would be subservient to his purposes was the earl of Bothwell, who was then living an indigent exile in France, on account of his real or pretended plot against the Hamiltons and Murray. Though poor, he had a large following. He was thought not to be destitute of personal courage, and known to be fit for the most desperate

perate undertaking. He had several times applied for leave to return home, as the proofs of his guilt were not very pregnant; but his suit had always been denied. On the day when, for non-appearance, he was to have been declared a rebel, the earls of Argyle and Murray, who were his declared enemies, marched into Edinburgh with five thousand men; but the queen, to the astonishment of all her protestant nobility, ordered the justice-clerk to delay sentence. Some days after, Mary sent for Murray, and desired him, with unusual caresses, to sign a paper, approving of her marriage with Darnley, which he refused; and he left the court under Mary's displeasure. According to one of Throgmorton's dispatches, thirteen of the other nobility were prevailed upon to sign the same paper, among whom was the duke of Chatleheraut, on a promise being made him that he should be continued in the possession of all his estates.

A. D. 1565.

and partiality for Bothwell.

Those proceedings discover how violently Mary was now bent upon her marriage. She had sent fresh instructions to Maitland, which he received on the road to Scotland, to talk more plainly than ever to Elizabeth, by informing her that she was no longer to be imposed upon; and that she was resolved, with the advice of her states, to chuse a husband for herself. Notwithstanding this dispatch, Maitland proceeded northwards; but before his arrival

Darnley created earl of Rose.

A. D. 1565. arrival at Edinburgh, Darnley had been created a knight, a banneret, lord of Ardmannach, and earl of Ross; in consequence of which he had made some knights in his own name; and, as I have already observed, he was to have been created duke of Albany the very day on which Throgmorton had his audience, which happened on the fifteenth of May.

Audience of
Throgmor-
ton.

When he was introduced to Mary by the lords Erskine and Ruthven, two of the privy-counsellors, a convention of the nobility was then sitting*, which had been called to deli-

* By the abstracts of the privy-council, as well as Throgmorton's own letter, this convention was very full; for it consisted of the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, and Athol, the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell of Teiregles, the secretary, the justice-clerk, the clerk-register, the advocate and treasurer, privy-counsellors; the earls of Crawford, Eglington, Cassils, Rothes, Caithness, the lords Hume, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Yester, Fleming, Levingston, Sempil, Ross, Lindsay, Lovat, Boyd, Somervil, the master of Graham, and the master of Sinclair.

Mr. Keith censures Buchanan for saying, that Alexander lord Ochiltree was the only member of the convention who opposed the queen's marriage with Darnley, because that nobleman's name is not mentioned in the list of the convention. The reverend author might have observed, that this list is restricted to those who met on a particular day; so that lord Ochiltree (whose sister by the bye Knox had married) might have been present some prior or subsequent day. This is the more probable, as in another list (which was copied from the register by Mr. Robert Milne, an excellent and accurate Scotch antiquary, but, I believe, the author of no publication) the following names are found: The commendators of Holyrood-house, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, St. Colm, and Balmerino. Mr. Milne observes, that this was the first time that commendators sat in council after the queen's return from France.

The above reverend author observes likewise, that Buchanan says that Murray chose to absent himself from the convention.

Perhaps

berate upon her marriage with Darnley, and which was unusually numerous; for Throgmorton himself acknowledges that very few nobility of the realm were absent. According to his own representation of his first audience, which he sent to queen Elizabeth, he made but a poor figure compared to Mary, who received him in full convention. He expressed the dislike his mistress had to the match with Darnley, both for the matter and the manner; and accused him and his parents of having failed in their duties, by their arrogant and presumptuous attempts, without making Elizabeth, whose subjects they were, privy thereunto.

*Dated May
21.*

Mary answered with great dignity, that she had communicated her intended marriage to Elizabeth as soon as she herself was determined as to the matter and manner, which was all she had promised: That she was astonished at Elizabeth's disliking the match, as Randolph had again and again declared to her; on the part of his mistress, that provided she did not marry into the families of Austria, France, or Spain, she might take her choice of any person within the realms of England, Scotland, or any other country. She added, that the lord Darnley, on account of his consanguinity both to her and Elizabeth, was so unexceptionable a match, that she had proceeded with the less

Perhaps he might, after he found of what completion it was, though he attended it the fifteenth of May.

preciseness

A. D. 1565. preciseness in the matter. Throgmorton's reply to Mary was poor and trifling; for in effect all he said was, that lord Darnley was an exception to the other subjects of Great Britain, whom Elizabeth might approve of as candidates for her hand. The other arguments used by Throgmorton could not, it seems, bear being transmitted on paper; but he says that Mary "is so far past in this matter with my lord Darnley, as it is irrevocable, and no place left to dissolve the same by persuasion or reasonable means, otherwise than by violence." Mary, notwithstanding those appearances, consented to put off the consummation of her marriage for three months, out of regard she had for Elizabeth's friendship; and she informed Throgmorton that she intended to send a special ambassador, not Maitland, (who it seems had offended her by his abrupt return to Scotland) to do all she could to reconcile Elizabeth to the match, and to mollify her displeasure.

A parliament summoned.

Mary had, in the late convention, met with so little opposition in her proposed marriage, and found her great nobility so well-disposed to favour it, provided the interests of religion were secured, that by the advice of her privy-council she ordered a parliament to be summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the twentieth of July, to deliberate upon the security which the preachers were to require for the Reformed religion.

religion. They had accordingly orders to assemble and draw up some heads for that purpose. When Throgmorton took his audience of leave, he had the honour to dine with Mary, who, before his departure, sent him a gold chain weighing fifty ounces. A.D. 1562.

Upon the breaking up of the convention, Mary again applied herself most assiduously in composing all differences between her great subjects, particularly the earls of Lenox and Argyle; and she sent orders for the archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France, to do all he could to dispose that court to favour her marriage with Darnley. But notwithstanding her delaying her marriage for three months, Throgmorton, in his dispatches to Elizabeth, was of opinion, that she was so far gone in love, that she was not able to keep promise with herself, far less with Elizabeth. Maitland, and other Scotch counsellors, who knew the temper of Elizabeth, gave their opinions to Mary, who was of herself sufficiently quick of discernment in such cases, that all Elizabeth's opposition to the match was mere show; nor could Mary in her behaviour towards Throgmorton conceal that she was of the same opinion. We therefore find Throgmorton's dispatches at this time full of dread and inquietudes, lest the behaviour of Elizabeth and her ministers should confirm Mary in those sentiments. In a memorial which he sent to

Throgmorton's intrigues

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A. D. 1565. the earl of Leicester and secretary Cecil, he even advises that the earl of Bedford should be sent to his charge at Berwick with a new reinforcement; and that Elizabeth should order her lords-lieutenants in the North to make warlike dispositions, as if she was on the eve of a war with Scotland.

and disco-
veries.

I have already mentioned one Walsh's having been employed by Mary as an agent among the English Roman catholics; and his practices with those of the North had alarmed Elizabeth so much, that Throgmorton was instructed to lay before Murray and the heads of the congregation the danger to which their religion must be exposed, if Mary, by marrying the lord Darnley, should unite in her interest all the party among the English, who thought his right of succession to their crown was preferable to that of the Suffolk family, and even to that of Mary herself. He then was to propose an association among those noblemen for withstanding the marriage with Darnley, till he should give proper security for maintaining the protestant religion in Scotland, as he himself was a profest Roman catholic *. He increased their jealousies by representing Walsh's practices with.

* Either Sir James Melvil or his printer have fallen into a mistake on this head. His Memoirs say, "till the said lord Darnley should subscribe a bond to maintain the Reformed religion, which he had *ever* professed in England." It is certain, that both Darnley and his father at that time were Roman catholics.

the Roman catholics, in the north of England, as tending to arm them in favour of Mary and her future spouse. He pitched upon the earl of Northumberland particularly, who was the nobleman of greatest power in those parts, as being at their head; and he even represented Walsley's practices with him to be so dangerous, that he advised Leicester and Cecil to put him under an arrest in London. He farther advised, that the countess of Lenox should be put under close restraint; and that the countess of Somersset (or rather Hertford) should be better received than formerly at court.

Memorial
of Throgmorton to
Leicester
and Cecil,
dated May
27.

The countess of Lenox, ever since her son's departure to Scotland, had been put under confinement; but it was so gentle that she had received visits from Elizabeth. Upon the receipt of Throgmorton's letters, however, she was committed close prisoner, it being discovered that she had kept up a correspondence with Mary, in which, from the information of the French and Spanish ambassadors, she had apprized her future daughter-in-law, that all Elizabeth's opposition to her marriage was mere grimace. This was the real opinion of Castelnau, who was sent by the French court through England, as ambassador to Mary, to signify its approbation of her marriage with Darnley. But we are now to take a view of Mary's domestic situation.

A. D. 1565.

Mary's passion for Darnley.

Her passion for Darnley (or, as he is called, the earl of Ross) continued to get the better of all her former moderate maxims, and even of that good sense for which she had been distinguished ever since her return to Scotland. This was in a great measure owing to the weakness and arrogance of Lenox and his son, who had boasted of the power and influence of their friends in England, that Elizabeth would not dare to counteract the marriage, and that all she sought was to form a party among the Scots, who might obstruct the prosecution of their just rights in England. Mary believed, or seemed to believe them, and gave herself but too much up to their guidance, while they, strangers as they were, were equally unfortunate in the choice of their favourites. The lord Robert, who was soon after created earl of Orkney, had a turn for gallantry and dissipation, and was at the head of all parties of pleasure about Mary's court. Though he professed the protestant religion, he always stood forth as a champion for the priests, and Mary's popish domestics; and those qualities naturally recommended him to an acquaintance and intimacy with Lenox and Darnley, whose shallow understanding hurried him on to act as if he had been already husband to the queen, and master of the court. This triumvirate unhappily threw their eyes upon one David Rizzio, an Italian, and a Piedmontese by birth. His parents being poor, he

Account of Rizzio.

was

A.D. 1568.

was bred to music, and taken into the service of Moret, whom I have already mentioned to have been sent by the duke of Savoy as ambassador to Mary. He attended his master thither; and being possessed of some knowledge in his profession, a little humour, and a vast stock of assurance, the queen took him into her service as a fourth supplemental voice (that is, a bass) in her chapel *. She had long complained of the inaccuracy, or oscitancy of Rautlet, her French secretary, who she thought did not give sufficient attention to his dispatches, and who was, besides, too much concerned in court intrigues. Under such circumstances we may well suppose, that it was no difficult matter for Darnley and lord Robert to recommend their companion Rizio (who, so far as I can understand, affected to behave as a buffoon) to be employed in writing French letters. Though nothing is more common than promotions of this kind, even under the most provident princes, and in the best regulated courts, yet Mary's partiality for Rizio has been represented by Buchanan and her enemies as the ef-

* It has been ignorantly, though commonly supposed, that Rizio was author of some of those Scotch-tunes, the natural simplicity of which are affecting at this day, and have survived the compositions in music of almost all other nations in the same period. This is so far from being the case, that it does not appear Rizio ever composed a single air, or that he had any excellency in his profession more than the three other valet de chambrés (for so they are called) or musicians with whom he sung in concert.

A.D. 1565. of them. He was likewise ordered to expostulate with Elizabeth upon the severe treatment of the countess of Lenox, whom Mary calls her father's sister, and to grant the earl of Lenox liberty to pass and repass as he pleased, between England and Scotland.

Hay's negotiation.

On the 24th of June, Hay arrived at the English court. Before this time, Elizabeth following Throgmorton's advice, whose counsels were unusually violent on the occasion, had sent the countess of Lenox prisoner to the Tower of London, and had dispatched letters to be delivered by Randolph, to Mary, Lenox, and Darnley, requiring the two latter, now that the time for their leave of absence was expired, upon their allegiance to return to England. Randolph punctually obeyed his orders, but received no satisfaction from any of the parties, and behaved to Mary with a heat that was unbecoming a resident, towards a crowned head. Mary's indignation broke forth in tears; Lenox appeared dejected; but Darnley, either better informed, or more insensible, declared that all Elizabeth's resentment was affected. That his conjecture was true is evident from every circumstance; for Elizabeth's real interest (and she knew it well) was, that the match should take place; and her pretended resentment was in order to bring Murray and the heads of the Reformation to believe she was so much exasperated with Mary, that

that they would always find in her a sure support in all disputes they had with their sovereign.

A. D. 1569

About this time a sudden gloom overcast Mary and her court. Never were characters more opposite than those who had now the chief credit about her person, and their antagonists the Reformers. Darnley seemed to have lost the small share of sense with which nature had endued him. He had drawn his dagger upon lord Ruthven, who had first informed him that the time of his marriage was postponed; he had declared himself at open enmity with Murray; and he had prevailed with Mary not only to pardon but to recal Bothwell, the most unprincipled and unpopular man in her dominions. His behaviour became at last so universally disgusting, that Mary, strong as her passion was for his person, perceived it; and laboured, but in vain, to conceal it. She invited Murray, and the other heads of the Reformed, to her court, promising them all satisfaction; but not being able to prevail, she was heard to bewail her own situation. Her address, her assiduity, and gentleness, gained her, however, the esteem and affections of all her subjects, except those who were personally concerned, and whose safety depended on their opposing Darnley. That young man was even so ungarded as to declare publicly, that the thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth

Mary's
court sud-
denly over-
cast.

A. D. 1565. gave him no pain, because after his marriage with Mary, they would have a stronger party than Elizabeth herself in England.

Account of
the same.

Murray now found it was his interest to strengthen his party with the common people, by dropping all his little differences with Knox, in which he succeeded perfectly well; but, according to the genius of the times, both sides now entertained thoughts of having recourse to violence. Whatever Buchanan may pretend to the contrary, it seems to be a fact confirmed by Melvil's Memoirs, and Randolph's dispatches, that Murray and his friends had formed a project for surprizing Lenox and his son, and carrying them both prisoners to Berwick. As this design had taken air, Mary, who was then at Perth, all of a sudden withdrew herself and Darnley from the public eye. She disgraced her maids, (for so maids of honour were formerly called) and her other domestics. She called Maitland sometimes to council; but it was only because she knew not how to act without his advice. She suspected Ruthven; and would have discarded the earl of Orkney and the lord Fleming, had they not been supported by Darnley. The earl of Athol, next to him, was her favourite; but Rizio was still trusted. I perceive, that at this time all the estates and appointments of Lenox in England had been stopt; and that he and his son subsisted upon Mary's bounty. As
she

she was generous, and had then more than common demands for money, she negotiated a loan of fifty thousand pounds Scots, which (says Randolph in his dispatch) is about twelve thousand pounds sterling; a proof, that there was not then such a disproportion as happened afterwards between the English and Scotch currency. Randolph was treated with the greatest neglect and disregard; and went to court but twice in twenty-four days.

Towards the end of June, or the beginning of July, while Mary was at Perth, she was alarmed with an account of a design formed by the earls of Argyle and Murray, to surprize her and Darnley in their journey from Perth to Calendar, where they were to pay the lord Levingstone a visit, and of sending Darnley prisoner to Castle Campbel, a house in the neighbourhood, belonging to the earl of Argyle. This alarm is pretended to have proceeded from Lenox and Darnley, or some over-officious Roman catholic in Mary's train; and it was said to be groundless. Murray was then ill of a flux at his mother's house at Lochleven; the earl of Argyle was at Castle Campbel; and the duke of Chatleherant, who was likewise accused, was at Kinneil; but all of them without any extraordinary attendance. Though this was known to Mary, yet Lenox and his son endeavoured to persuade her that those three heads of the party had some trea-

Mutual
plots and
accusations.

A.D. 1565. sonable purpose in disposing of themselves in places near which she must pass in her journey. The earl of Athol and the lord Ruthven were immediately dispatched to raise their tenants in the neighbourhood; and they accordingly formed a guard of three hundred men, with which Mary set out in great haste for Edinburgh. Though I have related the above supposed conspiracy as I find it in Randolph's dispatches, yet it has been treated as real by Melvil and other writers. All, however, that can be said with certainty on that side of the question is, that Murray most undoubtedly had a project for surprizing Darnley and his father; but where, when, or in what manner, does not evidently appear. We understand likewise from Randolph's dispatches, that Mary was truly informed, when she was told that the Reformed lords had entered into an association to withstand every measure that should be attempted against their religion, or to disturb the good understanding between England and Scotland.

*Danger of
Mary.*

The late reconciliation between Murray and Knox was productive of greater dangers to Mary than she was truly informed of. Besides the association already mentioned, another was formed among the citizens of Edinburgh for opposing the marriage. They assembled at a place called St. Leonard's Hill or Craig, where they entered into consultation about dividing themselves

A.D. 1565.

themselves into companies, and chusing a captain for each. The chief advisers in this association were Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, and Andrew Schlatter. Their meeting could be no secret to Mary, who was within twelve miles of that capital; and, according to Randolph, she issued an order to the provost and magistrates to apprehend the persons of the leaders above mentioned. No such order however appears upon record; and indeed the parties seem to have been but very ill provided for a rebellion. Mary with great spirit proceeded to Edinburgh, where her appearance dashed in pieces all the machinations of her enemies, who fled towards Berwick, where the earl of Bedford had previous orders to receive them; and being declared traitors, the lord treasurer took possession of their states and effects; but in a few days, such was Mary's innate clemency, they were restored at the intercession of the magistrates. The earl of Murray, at this time, was not without his real or pretended apprehensions of assassination likewise; but though we can scarcely doubt that his enemies were capable of the most desperate undertakings, we are in the dark as to particulars. All we know is from Randolph, who says, that Grant, one of Murray's servants, bastinadoed Stuart, the captain of the queen's guard, who was encouraged to revenge himself at Perth, and promised to be supported by the

A.D. 1565. the earls of Lenox and Athol; and that Murray, who probably would interpose, was to be assassinated in the fray. It is for the sake of truth and consistency I observe, that Buchanan says Murray was informed by lord Ruthven of Darnley's intention to have him assassinated, upon which he went to his mother's house at Lochleven. The same author says farther, that the murder was to have been committed by Rizio and others, while Murray was conversing with Darnley. Without dwelling upon the very different accounts of this matter given by Randolph and Buchanan, it is but doing justice to Mary, in observing, that she omitted nothing to bring the conspiracy against Murray to light. Both he and the earl of Argyll had said, that the conspiracy was hatched by the earl of Ross, in her house at Perth. She therefore sent an order by the commendator of Balmerino, who was then returned from his embassy in England, to the two earls, to make good the charge. They (Murray especially) objected to their safety in coming to court; upon which, Mary offered them all the security they could require, and to give safe-conducts to Murray, and any four-score persons in the kingdom, whom he chose should attend him. I do not however perceive, that Murray chose to venture his person at court, or that he either offered to support the charge with any particulars, which (had it been true) he might easily

easily have done without coming to court, or by any other than general, vague, allegations. A.D. 1569.

Mary, sensible how strongly religious fears operated on the minds of her subjects, especially the citizens of Edinburgh, took care, before her marriage, to issue proclamations, copies of which may be found in Keith, tending to give her people the amplest security with regard to the exercise of the reformed religion. In the mean time, the assembly of the church was held at Edinburgh, where the members availed themselves to the utmost of Mary's situation. They presented a paper to her consisting of eight heads. By the first, they petitioned that the blasphemous mass, all popish idolatry, with the pope's jurisdiction, should not only be abolished throughout the kingdom, but in the queen's person and household. To this Mary replied, "that she was no ways persuaded that there was any impiety in the mass; and trusted her subjects would not press her to do against her conscience. For not to dissemble, but to deal plainly with them, she said, she neither might nor would forsake the religion wherein she had been educated and brought up, believing the same to be the true religion, and grounded upon the word of God. Besides, she knew that if she should change her religion, it would lose her the friendship of the king of France, and other great princes her friends and confederates, upon whose displeasure she would be

Her proclamations about religion, and petition of the Reformed.

A.D. 1565. be loth to hazard, knowing no friendship that might countervail theirs: therefore desired all her loving subjects, who have had experience of her goodness, how she had neither in times past, nor yet in time coming did intend to force the conscience of any person, but to permit every one to serve God in such manner as they are persuaded to be the best: that they likewise would not urge her to any thing that stood not with the quietness of her mind."

The next head of their petition, or rather demand, was, "That the true religion formerly received should be professed by the queen, as well as by the subject; and all persons obliged to resort upon Sundays, at least, to prayers, and the preaching of God's word, as in former times they were bound to hear mass." To this Mary replied, "that she would abide by whatever the three estates, assembled in parliament, should determine; that in the interim all had liberty of conscience."

Their third demand was, "That sure provision should be made for the present and future support of the ministry, by assigning them livings, either where they serve, or in the neighbourhood: and that all benefices, vacant since the month of March 1558, and such as shall happen thereafter to be void, should be bestowed on persons found worthy of the ministry by the superintendents."

The fourth head was, "that no bishopric, abbey, priory, deanry, provostry, or other benefice, having more churches than one annexed thereto, should henceforth be given to one man; but that its churches being dissolved, the same shall be bestowed on different persons, so that every one may serve at his own church; that glebes and manseas may be appropriated for the ministers, and churches repaired; for which an act of parliament is required." To those two articles it was answered, That her majesty did not think it reasonable that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to relinquish the patronage of benefices: notwithstanding, her majesty was willing, after her own necessities were supplied, that a proper fund should be dedicated to the use of the ministry.

A. D. 1565.

with her
answers.

Their fifth claim was, "That none but such as are deemed qualified by the superintendents should have charge of schools, colleges, universities, or any way presume to instruct youth." The queen promised to be directed by the convention of the states as to this article.

Their sixth request was, "That all lands destined of old to hospitality should be restored to the poor; and that lands, annual rents, or other emoluments formerly enjoyed by friars, with annuities, obits, and other duties belonging to priests, be employed for the same purposes, and for the support of schools in the

A.D. 1565. places where they lie." To this Mary replied, that she would be as liberal to the poor as was consistent with reason; and left the other articles to the decision of parliament.

Their seventh request was, "That idolatry, blasphemy, manifest breaking of the Lord's day, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, adultery, incest, open whoredom, maintaining of brothels, murder, slaughter, theft, oppression, with other detestable crimes, be severely punished by judges appointed in every province."

The eighth was, "That some order should be devised for the relief of poor husbandmen, who are oppressed in their tithes, by leases let over their heads, which oblige them to accept unreasonable conditions." Mary's answer to the two last petitions was, that she referred the consideration of them to the approaching convention.

Her moderation.

When we consider the moderation displayed by Mary upon this and all other occasions of state and religion; it cannot be denied, that the lords in the opposition to her marriage, had formed, on that pretext, an unprovoked plan of rebellion, upon the assurances they had of being supported by Elizabeth. They indeed pretended that fresh matter of opposition was presented; but this is so far from being the case, that Mary had, of late, behaved with unusual circumspection; and, as we have already seen, had even pardoned the insurgents

at Edinburgh, though they had been declared rebels. Darnley and his father, it is true, were full of heat and presumption; but no attempt had been made to violate the civil or religious liberties of the subject. On the contrary, Mary had given all the security in her power for the preservation of both. The associated lords and their abettors seem to have been aware of this; for instead of charging Mary with any unjustifiable act of prerogative, nothing now was so common among them as the discussion of general propositions; Whether a papist might be lawfully made king of Scotland? whether Mary was at liberty to chuse a husband for herself? and whether the states ought not to appoint her a husband? Though these questions scarcely merited a discussion, yet it may be here proper to observe, that the first strikes at Mary's own temporal sovereignty, for which even Knox had always professed the most profound veneration. The second, if resolved in the negative, must have put the queen upon a more wretched and contemptible footing than any female subject she had. As to the last question, it is true the states had not appointed a husband for her; but they had almost unanimously approved of the appointment she had made for herself.

Camden.

Setting aside all other considerations, every step of the associated lords was a proof of a deliberate premeditated rebellion, even before the

The associated lords apply to Elizabeth for money.

A.D. 1565. queen's marriage was celebrated. Their hopes from the insurrection at Edinburgh being at an end, it was in vain they cast their eyes around the nation, where they saw the people pleased with their sovereign, and happy under her government. They had recourse to Elizabeth; and Argyle and Murray sent a letter to Randolph in their own names, and those of their brethren, which Randolph transmitted to Cecil. This letter is conceived in terms equally vague, false, and indefensible. They pretended, that they saw their sovereign determined to overthrow the received religion; but without bringing a single instance in which it was attempted. They likewise alledged, that she was fore bent (to use their own expression) against those that desired to see the amity (that is between Scotland and England) continued: which two points (says Randolph) they "are bound in conscience to maintain and defend; and therefore are determined to withstand all attempts that shall be made against the same; and are resolved to provide for their sovereign's estate, better than at this time she can consider thereof herself." Randolph next lays before Cecil the request of the associated lords, which did not consist of any supply of men but of money, so as to keep them together at Edinburgh, where they proposed to distress all Mary's measures, and to prevent any rupture with England. The sum they proposed was three

Letter from
Randolph
to Cecil,
July 4.

three thousand pounds, with which they promised to perform wonders in the Reformation of the state. In the close of this letter, Randolph, who writes like a dirty peddling emiffary, advises Cecil to order the borderers to fall upon lord Hume's estates, because he is the only man of the marches, or in Lothian, whom Mary trusts. He likewise advises him to intercept the young bishop of Dumblain, who was returning from Rome with the pope's licence for the marriage; Mary and Darnley being within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.

Elizabeth had now brought matters in Scotland to that crisis which she had long secretly wished for. The encouragement she had given to the associated lords had been attended with such circumstances of ambiguity and caution, that they could not charge her, in direct terms, with her having made them any promises. In the answer she returned to Randolph, she affected great impartiality as to the differences between Mary and her subjects, and ordered him to acquaint her, that her (Mary) not consulting her (Elizabeth) in the choice of her husband, had made her afraid of being thought officious, if she had not given Mary some demonstration of her sisterly good will. In the mean while, concludes she, " whilst she is advised by their adversaries, we wish the nobility forbear to resort in companies together, that they be not en-
snared

Cautious
conduct of
Elizabeth,

A. D. 1564. snared in any one place by their adversaries. Finally, you shall assure them, that they doing their duty, if they shall, by malice or practice, be forced to any inconveniency, they shall not find lack in us to regard them in their truth. And as we shall hear further from you, so shall we impart more of our mind to be delivered unto them in this cause. And where it seemeth by your writing, that the nobility are determined to keep great forces for their defence, we are of opinion, that thereby the queen takes most suspicion of their intentions, and by this they shall be driven to greater charges than is expedient; upon which you shall do well, as you see cause, to give them advice, neither to make greater expence than their security makes necessary; nor less, which may bring danger."

who supplies the
Scotch lords
with money.

Notwithstanding all this affected caution of Elizabeth, it appears from other evidences, that she ordered the earl of Bedford, governor of Berwick, privately to supply Murray with money; but the generous open manner with which Mary proceeded at this time, rendered her an overmatch for her adversaries. To take from them all pretexts of danger to their religion, on the 12th of July, she emitted a proclamation for the assurance of religion, which was conceived in the strongest terms. She had been present in the house of Calendar, to witness the baptism of lord Levingston's child;

child; and even Knox acknowledges that she heard a protestant sermon. She took every opportunity to declare, that though she believed her own religion to be the best, yet she was open to conviction; and though she could not endure the rude behaviour and treasonable conversation of Knox, yet she would willingly hear disputations and conferences in the scriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr. Erskine of Dun, because she had an opinion of his moderation and mildness, as well as of his honesty and integrity. I believe no reader, after the specimens I have given of Mr. Knox's conversation and behaviour towards Mary, can be surprized at Mary's dislike of that preacher, had she even been a private gentlewoman; but far from approving of her docility by endeavouring to nurture it, all he says on that head is, that she would only hear preaching out of the mouth of such as pleased her majesty.

The associated lords had absented themselves from court; so that the clouds of rebellion appeared still with a threatening aspect. Mary, therefore, with the advice of her council, among whom I find the earl of Morton, who was then chancellor, adjourned the meeting of the parliament from the twentieth of July to the first of September following. The public apprehensions from the associated lords continuing to encrease every day, Mary thought it high

*They retire
from court.*

A.D. 1565. high time to provide for her safety; and on the fifteenth of July she published a proclamation, by the advice of her council, certifying all her good subjects, that as they had not hitherto, so should they not for the time to come be molested in the matter of religion. She then charges all her subjects to attend her, furnished with warlike accoutrements for fifteen days, under pain of being reputed and held assisters and partakers with the disobedient, and to be punished accordingly. Mary, besides this proclamation, sent a circular letter to the noblemen and gentlemen in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Mers, Teviotdale, Perthshire, Linlithgowshire, and Clydesdale. The original of this letter is still extant, all written and subscribed by Mary's hand; and is to be found, only somewhat modernized as to the stile and spelling, in the notes *. The reader is to observe, that at the

* Trusty friend, we greet you well. The evil bruit and untrue report spread by seditious persons amongst our lieges has grieved us indeed, as that we should have intended to impede or molest any our subjects in the using their religion and conscience freely: a thing which never entered into our mind, although too many have credited the report: and to the effect that this vain bruit may vanish, as a thing without ground or occasion, we have directed our letters, to signify our sincere meaning to all our good subjects: and with that we thought it very meet and convenient to write unto you, in particular, as one of whom we never had but good opinion, and saw your ready good will to shew, when the occasion of the commonweal required. The effect is to certify and assure you, that as hitherto ye have never perceived us to mean, stop, stay, or molestation given to you, or any others, in using your religion and conscience, so may ye look for the same our good will and clemency in time coming; for next God behaving you as a good subject to us, think no other but

time those letters and proclamations were emitted, the associated lords were assembled at Stirling, from whence they sent a paper, which they called a supplication, to the queen, which has been printed. It contains little besides vague declamations against idolatry, railings against crimes, and petitions for a speedy reformation, with strong apprehensions of the return of popery. The reader may have a specimen of it from the close, which is as follows:

Their influential supplication.

“ And therefore yet again we the whole body professing Christ Jesus within this realm, humbly crave of your majesty, that you give us not occasion to think that you intend nothing but the subversion of Christ Jesus's true religion, and in the overthrow of it the destruction of us, the best part of the subjects of your grace's realm. For this, before the world, we plainly profess, that to that Roman antichrist we will never be subject, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppress it) any of his usurped authority to have place within this realm. And thus, with all

but to find us a favourable and beneficent mistress and prince, willing to continue you in good peace and quietness; but (without) innovation or alteration in any sort. And in case ye shall be desired to rise and concur with any man, as under pretence of this vain bruit, we pray you to stay, and take no heed to them that so shall desire you. As also, if it shall happen us to have to do either with our old enemies, or otherwise, we look to be justified by you presently in writing with the bearer what we may lippen (trust) for at your hands. Farther of our mind we have declared to the bearer hereof, whom to ye shall give first credit. Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the sixteenth day of July, 1565.

Mary R.

humble

A. D. 1565. humble and dutiful obedience, we humbly crave your grace's favourable answer with these our appointed commissioners."

Every ingenuous reader must be hurt by the insult which this supplication offered to Mary, as it was attended with no particular facts or allegations; and the more, when he reflects on the unwearied pains she had taken to quiet the minds of her protestant subjects. I have more than once declared my disbelief, that Mary was to be shaken in her religion by any arguments; but I am convinced she was then sincere in all her declarations, that she would confine her partiality for the Roman catholic religion within the walls of her own palace; an instance of moderation not to be found perhaps in the history of that age. I am farther of opinion, that gentle treatment and liberal conferences on that head, might have rendered her a very moderate papist; and have even reconciled her to some externals of the Reformed worship.

A fresh, but
fruitless,
embassy to
England.

Ever since the insurrection at Edinburgh, Mary had kept about her person a body of troops, consisting chiefly of the earl of Hume's tenants, and the inhabitants of Lothian. She behaved decently with regard to Elizabeth; but kept Randolph at a great distance. That resident's account of her court at this time, either shews how willing he was to impose upon his mistress and her ministers, or how ignorant he was of Mary's real situation; for he repre-

sents

A. D. 1565.

sents her and her intended husband as the most forlorn detested beings in Scotland, though the sequel proved, that she never had so fully possessed the affections of her subjects as she did at that very time. The lord Lenox and his son sent the commendator Hay to clear themselves of all suspicion towards Murray; and the former offered to fight any man who should dare to avow that they ever intended to murder him; and indeed the imputation is too gross to be farther mentioned. On the twenty-first of July the dispensation for the marriage having arrived, Randolph had an audience of Mary; but upon his pretending to justify himself, (according to his own representation of the matter, he must have been a very rude, impertinent, apologist) she cut him short in so peremptory a manner, that he thought proper to retire. Some days after, the associated lords at Stirling having appeared in arms, the queen, in a very full council, published a fresh proclamation for the attendance of her subjects at Edinburgh, which was so numerous, that it entirely destroyed all Randolph's suggestions as to the desperate situation of Mary; for the lords separated from each other, and provided for their own safety in the best manner they could.

Darnley was now created duke of Albany, but not Rothsay, which was the title of the king of Scotland's eldest son; and late on the

Mary and
Darnley
marry.

A.D. 1565. twenty-eighth of July, being the evening before the queen's marriage, she ordered a proclamation to be published for giving him the title of king. This seems to have been a premature, idle, step, and probably was suggested by the bridegroom himself, or his father; Next day, the marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the abbey of Holyrood-house by John Sinclair dean of Restalrig, and bishop of Brechin, between the hours of five and six in the morning. The ceremony being performed, the queen went to mass, but unaccompanied by the bridegroom, who, affecting great moderation with regard to religion, assisted at the protestant worship, and heard the preachers. At the wedding-dinner the earl of Athol assisted as sewer, the earl of Morton as carver, and the earl of Crawford as cup-bearer; the attendants upon the king were the earls of Eglington, Cassils, and Glencairn; and next day Darnley was proclaimed king, by sound of trumpet, over the cross of Edinburgh.

Promotions.

Mary was then in the twenty-third year of her age, and her husband in his twentieth; That she was far gone in love after what we have seen, cannot be doubted; but the declaring her husband king by her own proclamation, was not only highly unconstitutional, but soon proved fatal to herself. Next to love, ignorance may be urged in her excuse. Her giddy bridegroom and his father seem to have

have only consulted with Rizio and some dissipated favourites, who knew nothing of the laws or constitution of the kingdom; and the affection of her people led them to overlook the irregularity. Some promotions were made upon the occasion. The lord Erskine was now invested with the title of earl of Mar, and the lord Fleming was made chamberlain of Scotland, and master-usher of the king and queen's chamber doors. The earl of Sutherland was recalled from banishment; and I perceive that Bothwell, the most unprincipled and unpopular man in Scotland, now made his appearance at court. Never perhaps was a marriage celebrated under more uncomfortable circumstances; for the royal pair, the very second or third day after the consummation, were obliged to take the field against the earl of Murray and his adherents in Fife. New proclamations were issued; and it is highly remarkable, that the earl of Murray was not declared a rebel till the sixth of August. The duke of Chatleheraut and the earl of Argyle, his two chief associates, with their followers, did not undergo that penalty; and intimations only were sent them to their dwelling-houses to warn them of their danger. I find, however, that after the lords had presented a fresh set of articles relating to religion, to the same purpose as we have already seen, they wrote a letter, which is signed by the duke of Chatleheraut,

A.D. 1565. lehierant and the earls of Argyle and Murray, to Elizabeth, craving afresh her protection. Mary having assembled her forces, she prepared to march; but the associated lords did not make that figure in the field which was expected. Murray had trusted to the earl of Bedford, as appears from his original letter in the Lawyer's Library at Edinburgh, which, as it is a great curiosity, I shall here lay before the reader.

Murray's
letter to
Bedford.

“Right honourable, my very good lord: After my most hearty commendations, I trust the bruit of some noblemens proceedings against me is so far spread abroad, that it hath also reached your ears. I know no merit in myself, saving the earnest affection God hath granted me to his true worship, the good will I bear to the common wealth of my country, and the entertainment of a mutual amity betwixt both realms. And seeing that my single intention, grounded upon so good heads, have ingendered to me the peril wherein presently I and all my like in this realm standeth; and knowing your good lordship's earnest affection, joined with sincerity, to the same end; I thought it my duty to give your lordship to understand the same, knowing well, that as your good will is much to our comfort, so is your room and place of power to perform the same in a great part: especially seeing the persons most dangerous and troublesome to our party, doth lye very near

near your bounds, we would wish, and for my own part must earnestly crave of your honour to stay off us by all means their power, which your lordship hath moyen to do. And so as matters shall further proceed to our strait, we crave further your lordship's comfort, as of one, to whom God hath granted to know the subtil devices of Satan against the innocent professors of the gospel, to stir up the powers of the world against the same, and how many ways he can colour his enterprize. And thus not doubting of your lordship's good will, I commit your honourable lordship to the protection of God."

By the above letter the reader may perceive the desperate situation to which the associated lords were now reduced. They endeavoured to rouse their fellow-subjects to resentment, by representing the indignity done them in having a king imposed upon the nation without their consent; of having proclamations take place of acts of parliament; and from the danger of seeing all that had been done for religion reversed. All was to no purpose; nor could the discontented assemble the face of an army. The earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy, Grange, and Haliburton, provost of Dundee, who had been seen in arms, were ordered, by proclamations, to enter themselves into several prisons, under the penalty of being declared rebels. About the fourteenth of August, Mary's army was put in motion, and

Desperate
situation of
the lords.

A.D. 1565. and their majesties marched towards Fife to extinguish the last remains of rebellion in Scotland; but about this time Mary was surprized by a fresh message from her sister Elizabeth.

Mary acts
with be-
coming spi-
rit.

That great princess disliked the spirit with which Mary had proceeded of late; and found, that the Scots were far from being so ripe for an insurrection as had been represented. She therefore pitched upon one Tamworth, a gentleman of her bedchamber, a forward insolent fellow, to be her messenger, and apprized Randolph that he was upon his journey; ordering him, at the same time, to assist Tamworth in his business. Mary was now perfectly sensible of Elizabeth's practices with the associated lords; but did not, as usual, bury her resentment in tears and silent indignation. She gave it full vent; she ordered Randolph to be treated as a spy; and he received notice from secretary Maitland, that if he did not desist from tampering with the lords and her rebellious subjects, he should be put under arrest in his own house. Tamworth's instructions from Elizabeth are, as usual, full of dissimulation, and affected tenderness towards Mary's person and character; but we learn from them, that Mary had written to Elizabeth in very sharp terms, complaining of her debauching her subjects, and threatening to appeal to all the princes her allies, for justice. Tamworth, by his mistress's order, reproached Mary

Mary for her duplicity in entertaining Darnley as her lover, in such a manner as she could not avoid making him her husband, at the very time that secretary Maitland was her ambassador at the English court asking Elizabeth's advice about her marriage. He was next to reason with her concerning the breach of the treaty between the two crowns, by detaining Lenox and his son (whom Elizabeth claimed to be her subjects) in Scotland, after being formally required to return to England. The rest of Tamworth's instructions contained general professions of friendship for Mary; but drawn up in a stile of superiority, as if Elizabeth had a right to be consulted in all the affairs of Scotland; and they end with a warm recommendation of Murray for his honesty and abilities, and some tacit-menaces against Mary herself, if she should attempt any thing against the Reformed religion.

It does not evidently appear, that Tamworth was ever admitted to a personal audience with Mary; but she certainly received a copy of his message, to every head of which she returned a precise, but spirited, answer. She threw the blame of her concluding her marriage without consulting Elizabeth, upon that princess, who had not appointed commissioners, as had been proposed, to remove all difficulties. At the same time, she put Elizabeth in mind, that she herself had declared to Throgmorton, and

Treatment
of Tam-
worth.

A. D. 1565. by her embassadors Maitland and Hay, that she was determined to marry Darnley; and that Elizabeth's behaviour was such, as put her under a kind of necessity to chuse a partner of her throne. "To deal plainly and frankly," (says her memorial) her highness had good cause to consummate her marriage in the manner and time she has done; and as both were known to herself and her people, she thinks no other prince has any concern in the affair." She added, "that whatever Elizabeth might pretend to the contrary, she was ready to prove that the greatest and principal powers in Christendom had approved of her conduct." She then shewed how ridiculous and unjust Elizabeth's complaint was, concerning a breach of treaties, in detaining Lenox and his son in Scotland, since the latter is actually her husband, and the former a Scotchman by birth, title, and estate; and had been recommended in the strongest manner to her favour and protection by Elizabeth herself. She next hints that she had her demands upon Elizabeth, as well as the latter had upon her; but that Elizabeth expected every concession, and would make none. She adds, that if Tamworth, by his commission, was impowered to treat upon any proposition that might be made him on her (Mary's) part, she was willing to open the conferences immediately. She puts Elizabeth in mind that her rank in the world claimed respect;

respect; and that upon an emergency she knew where to find friends; that as she never had intermeddled in the affairs of England, because she thought that an independent sovereign was only accountable to God, so she expected that Elizabeth would not concern herself with those of Scotland. As to the earl of Murray, Mary (to use her own words) "most heartily desired her good sister to meddle no farther with private cases, concerning him, or any other subjects of Scotland, than her majesty has heretofore meddled with those of the subjects of England; and that Elizabeth in so doing will perform the very office of a prince and a good neighbour." She concluded by interceding for the countess of Lenox, and putting Elizabeth in mind of her cruelty and injustice towards that lady.

I have been the more explicit in my account of this message, because of Mary's alteration of stile towards her sister-queen. The reader cannot avoid perceiving her repeated admonitions to Elizabeth not to concern herself with the affairs of Scotland; but to take from Elizabeth all pretext for complaint, I find a paper addressed to her by Mary and her husband, which I apprehend was drawn up by Maitland, and was to serve as the basis of a perpetual peace between the two nations. In this paper "they promise to preserve the peace with Eng-

Mary's offer to Elizabeth.

A. D. 1565.

tion in religion, even though they should be called to that throne. But all this was upon the following conditions: First, That Elizabeth should declare the succession to be in Mary; and failing her, and the issue of her body, in the countess of Lenox and her issue; Secondly, That Elizabeth shall desist from meddling in any Scotch affairs, and from entertaining any rebels of that country. Thirdly, That she shall enter into no foreign league in prejudice of the kingdom of Scotland. Lastly, That a definitive treaty be entered upon by commissioners of both nations." Whether those propositions were transmitted by Tamworth, does not clearly appear; but his behaviour was resented by Mary, especially in his giving her husband no higher title than that of lord Darnley. His confederate, Randolph, was desired by secretary Maitland to withdraw to Berwick; and upon his refusing to comply, Mary obliged him to promise upon his word of honour, that he should have no dealings with her rebels. As to Tamworth, upon his taking leave of the Scotch court, he demanded a safe-conduct for his return to England; and being offered one signed by the king only, he refused it, and proceeded without one upon his return; upon which he was stopt at Dunbar by the lord Hume, who made him prisoner for some days in his castle of Hume. Randolph complained to Mary of his detention; but





HENRY LORD DARNLEY.

but received no other answer than that he might blame himself, because he would not accept of a safe-conduct when offered him. It is certain, however, that he soon after obtained his liberty.

Mary and her husband continued still in the field against the rebels, the chief of whom were inhabitants of Fife. Many gentlemen of that county were ordered into custody; and the earl of Rothes and Kirkaldy being now denounced rebels, as well as Murray, their houses and possessions were taken into the hands of the crown. Mary's chief attendants in this expedition were the chancellor earl of Morton, the earls of Athol and Mar, the lord Ruthven, secretary Maitland, the treasurer, the comptroller, the clerk-register, justice-clerk, and advocate. I mention those names chiefly to shew, that Mary did not proceed without the opinions of the chief lawyers of her kingdom; and it is remarkable that the chancellor himself had been the bosom companion of Murray.

She takes
the field
against the
rebels,

The associated and rebel lords met with compassion wherever they went, but no encouragement; and at last they came to a resolution to retire to the fastnesses of Argyleshire, there to wait for what time should produce. Being thus driven from place to place, several proclamations were issued against them, prohibiting all the subjects of Scotland from intercommuning

and outlawing
them.

ing

A. D. 1565.

Aug. 22.

ing with them, or supplying them with meat, drink, munition, or armour. We find them, however, mustering their forces at Air, and new levies were made for pursuing them to the utmost; but in the mean while, Mary very wisely published a proclamation for the confirmation and security of the reformed religion; and another of pardon to all their attendants, who should peaceably leave their company and depart home. Besides the army that was to be headed by the king and queen, and which was to march west towards Air and Irwin, the earl of Athol was appointed lieutenant for the North part of the kingdom, and had it in charge to invade Argyleshire with an army of Highlanders. To shew the public that their majesties were in earnest, the usual immunities previous to the expedition were granted to all true subjects of every rank and quality, that happened to die, or be wounded, under the charge of their said lieutenant.

She removes
the provost
of Edin-
burgh.

The heads of the associated lords were the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with some barons of Fife and Kyle. They had sent one Elphinston to make another trial of Elizabeth; and, if we are to believe Knox, who was well informed, he returned with a supply of ten thousand pounds sterling; but I do not perceive that even that sum, large as it was, enabled them to

to make any figure in the field. Before Mary A.D. 1564 set out for Edinburgh, being no stranger to the affection which the inhabitants of that capital bore to the rebel lords, she ordered the town-council to depose their provost, Douglas of Kilspindie, who was one of Murray's most avowed partizans, and to appoint one Simon Preston in his room. This seems to have been a pretty high strain of prerogative, nor shall I enquire whether it was not stretched on the occasion; but it appears from the records, that the council acquiesced, and that Douglas divested himself of his office with a very good grace; but the spiritual concerns of that town were not so easily settled.

After the queen's marriage, her husband had repaired to the high church of Edinburgh, where he heard a sermon from Knox, who threw out many bitter sarcasms against the government of boys, women, and Jezebels. The weak-brained king felt himself hurt with what he said; and the preacher was summoned to appear before the privy-council, which he did, attended by a large number of the chief inhabitants. He was told by secretary Maitland, that the king had taken offence at some parts of his sermon, and that he must abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days; during which time his place was to be supplied by Mr. Craig, a more moderate minister, who was brought to Edinburgh for that purpose. The
answer

A. D. 1565. answer of Knox was in his usual strain ; and
 “ that he had spoken nothing but according to
 his text ; and if the church would command
 him either to speak or abstain, he would obey
 so far as the word of God would permit him.”
 If we are to believe archbishop Spotswood, he
 added, “ That as the king had, for the queen’s
 pleasure, gone to mass, and dishonoured the
 Lord God ; so should he in his justice make her
 the instrument of his overthrow.” The same
 moderate prelate says, that the queen burst into
 tears at his insolent expressions ; and it is from
 the records of the town council, still extant,
 uncertain whether the prohibition, short and
 easy as it was, took place. It is to this period
 I am to refer the restitution of the lord Gor-
 don, who, ever since his condemnation, had
 been a prisoner in the castle of Dunbar, to the
 estate and honours of Huntley. That noble-
 man, if we are to believe the historian of his
 family, narrowly escaped losing his head, by a
 paper presented amongst others to Mary, and
 signed by her, without looking into it, contain-
 ing a warrant directed to his keeper for his im-
 mediate execution, which he refused to obey
 till he saw Mary, and she countermanded the
 order. There can be no doubt that Murray
 hated Huntley ; but there can be as little of the
 prevalence of family legends founded upon he-
 reditary differences and groundless preposses-
 sions, of which this story carries the strongest
 marks.

Danger and
 restitution
 of the lord
 Gordon.

marks. It confessedly rests upon tradition; and it is difficult to believe, that Murray, who was far from being a sanguinary man, would have ventured upon so desperate an expedient to get rid of an enemy, especially as that enemy was son-in-law to the duke of Chatleheraut, the head of the Reformers.

Before Mary and her husband left Edinburgh, she took her measures with the most admirable circumspection. A commission had been granted to Colin Campbell, baron of Glenurquhy, ancestor to the present earl of Breadalbin, for suppressing the rebellious clan of Gregor. It was naturally to be supposed that he would favour his friend and namesake the earl of Argyle; and the commission itself clashed with that of the lieutenancy, which had been granted to the earl of Athol. It was therefore suppressed; and the king and queen leaving Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth of August, marched towards Linlithgow, Stirling, and Glasgow, at the head of, at least, six thousand men. The lords had then about them a thousand horse; and advanced to Paisley with a shew as if they intended to attack the royalists; but instead of that, they suddenly wheeled off towards Edinburgh. The queen's provost attempted to make some dispositions to oppose them; and two shot was fired upon them from the castle, which was then commanded by the earl of Mar's brother;

Mary is successful against the rebels,

A, D. 1565. but they entered with little or no resistance by the west-gate, and became masters of the town. They then sent expresses through all quarters to raise their friends, and beat up for volunteers, but few joined them; and their utmost complement of men did not exceed thirteen hundred cavalry. This was the more damping, as they were well supplied with money to pay for recruits; and their danger was immediate, as they received information that the royal army was upon its return. Their heads, according to Knox, were the duke of Chatelheraut, the earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcombie, and Lawers; the tutor of Pitcur; the lairds of Barr, Cernel, and Dreghorne, and the laird of Pitarrow comptroller.

who are
summoned
to their
trials.

In the mean while, the queen had summoned the castle of Hamilton to surrender, which was refused; and without staying to besiege it, she directed her march back towards Edinburgh, the earl of Athol having a sufficient force, in a separate army, for reducing Argyleshire. I perceive that the earl of Morton commanded the center of the army; and tho' chancellor, and in high confidence with the queen, he is said to have kept up a constant correspondence with Murray. Whatever may be in that, it is probable that the queen having about this time restored the earl of Huntley,

ley, whose father long held the place of chancellor, might sharpen his resentment. Upon the approach of the royal army, the lords marched to Lanerk; and the queen being apprehensive that they intended to take possession of Glasgow, was making dispositions to return, when she received certain intelligence that they had marched towards Dumfries, a town fifty miles south of Edinburgh; and lying commodiously for securing their retreat to England, if that should become necessary. Mary, upon this, directed her march towards Stirling, and took possession of Castle Campbell, the earl of Argyle's house. From thence she made a quick march to St. Andrew's. She had ordered a proclamation to be published, summoning the duke of Chatleheraut, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with others, to repair to that city in six days time, to answer such things as should be laid to their charge; and the time being now elapsed without their compeering, they were denounced rebels. I cannot help considering this as an evidence of Mary's moderation.

She justly considered the county of Fife, and its neighbourhood, as the chief seat of rebellion, and resolved to inflict marks of her displeasure upon them; she therefore subjected them to mulcts; and the town of Dundee, the wealthiest among them, was fined two thousand marks Scots; a proof that Mary was

She mulcts
some of the
burghs.

A.D. 1565. placable in her revenge; nor do we know of any punishment she inflicted upon several gentlemen, who had actually received money from Murray. Upon returning to Edinburgh, she ordered her army to rendezvous at Biggar, which they did, to the number of eighteen thousand fighting men. Mary, ever since the breaking out of the rebellion, had been at a considerable charge in paying a body of mercenaries, who served upon a different footing from that of her other subjects; and she appears at this time to have been well supplied with money, though a large sum belonging to her had been seized by the earl of Northumberland, when the ship that carried it was wrecked upon the English coast. Mary, during all the time of this rebellion, was dressed in a warlike manner, and rode with charged pistols; while her husband was distinguished by wearing a suit of gilded armour.

Elizabeth
privately
supports the
rebels.

It is plain from the evidences that have come to our hands, that the formidable appearance Mary made at this time touched Elizabeth to the quick. The rebel lords had been joined by the lord Maxwell, and some others; and they were continually plying Elizabeth with messages for money, promising, if they were supplied, to bring Mary a prisoner into England. Elizabeth, however willing she was, did not chuse to give the least encouragement to the rebel lords, having seen so little effect

fect from the money she had already advanced them. They therefore applied to Mary, offering to submit to her government, provided the Reformed religion might be established; but they added in the close of the letter, "That if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand that it should be dear bought." Mary disdained to give any answer to submissions (for they had sent several of the same kind) attended with such menaces; and advanced with such quickness against the rebels, that they retired to Carlisle. Elizabeth knew of their intention, and had sent private orders to Cecil to reinforce the garrison of that city; and Bedford, in his own name, had promised to supply the lords with some money.

Mary and her husband hearing that the rebels had taken refuge in England, after reposeing some time at Dumfries, paid a visit to Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles, governor of the castle of Lochmaben. This gentleman had been deeply engaged with the rebels; but he now returned to his duty, and becoming lord Herries, he continued ever after a faithful friend and subject to Mary. Of all the associated lords, none stood his ground but the earl of Argyle, who made severe reprisals upon the estates belonging to Lenox and Athol; but that nobleman, by his after-conduct, shewed that he was not actuated by the same principle

who are
pursued into
England.

A. D. 1565. principle as Murray. Mary and her husband returned to Edinburgh in November. The rebel lords, broken as they were, still gave out that they would prove more than a match for the royal army, if they were supported by queen Elizabeth. All she did was to exhort them to patience and submission; but above all things to behave in such a manner as to leave room for a treaty under her own mediation. Matters were in this state, when the duke of Chatleheraut wrote a letter to Mary, filled with protestations of duty, and desiring to have a safe-conduct for passing over to France. Mary, who knew how little she had to apprehend from that nobleman, whose friends and followers in general had forsaken him, when he entered into the rebellion, readily granted his request, though it was opposed by her worthless husband.

A new
treaty pro-
posed.

Mary who (upon occasions) could dissemble as well as Elizabeth, availed herself, to the full, of the advantages she had gained over her rebel subjects. She sent one Yaxly as her agent to Spain, to acquaint that king with the whole process of the rebellion; and one Chalmers of Ormond was sent first to England, and then to France, to complain of Elizabeth's continuing to favour her rebel subjects. Elizabeth was informed of those steps, and affected to withdraw all kind of countenance or favour from the associated lords; but she named the earl

earl of Bedford, and Sir John Forester, as her commissioners for opening a treaty, which was to terminate all differences between herself and Mary; upon which Mary named the earl of Bothwell and the laird of Cesford as her commissioners; but with an express reservation, that nothing should be treated of by way of favour to, or reconciliation with, her rebels.

Though Mary's affairs at this time were crowned with such success, that she might reasonably have promised to herself a long and glorious reign, yet she was distressed in her mind, and on the verge of perdition as to her circumstances. She had married a man who gave her hourly proofs how unworthy he was not only of her hand but her notice. He was perpetually drunk. He haunted the company which he knew to be the most disagreeable to the queen; and young and beautiful as she was, he had brought infection to her bed. It was in vain that her excellent sense endeavoured to conceal his profligacy, for it broke out on all occasions; and he brutally abused her even at public entertainments. For some time, she had recourse only to her tears; but his worthless companions suggesting to him that he was only a nominal king, (though I perceive that all the public acts passed in his name as well as Mary's) he rudely and incessantly demanded that he should be invested with the matrimonial crown. Mary, from a regard to herself as well as her subjects,

Profligate
character of
Darnley.

A.D. 1565. subjects, evaded his request, perhaps in such a manner as shewed him he was not to expect to be gratified; and she even hinted, that it was not impossible for her to fall upon a way to humble him, by admitting a negotiation with the rebel lords, under Elizabeth's mediation. She had an opening for this from Murray, who applied to Cecil in a most humble, if not abject manner for Elizabeth's intercession to procure his pardon from Mary before the sitting of the parliament, which was summoned to confirm his forfeiture, and those of his friends. He likewise employed Melvil, brother to the Memoir writer, to solicit his cause with Mary, who gave him a flat refusal of the least favour. When Randolph represented to her, that Bothwell was a very exceptionable person with the queen his mistress, and begged her to name another commissioner, she cut him short by saying, that she hated Bedford as much as Elizabeth hated Bothwell. Mary, however, seemed to be placable towards the earl of Argyle.

who is at
variance
with the
queen.

Every day now produced fresh jars between Mary and her profligate husband. Repeated complaints were made of Lenox having abused his power; and the king could bear the sight of none whom Mary seemed to favour. He hated Ledington for his abilities; and he became the sworn enemy of Rizio, whom she continued to employ in her foreign correspondencies. Mary, to mortify him, ordered that his
name

A. D. 1566.

name should no longer be placed before hers upon the coin, or in public deeds; and did not conceal how much she repented her having made him her husband. He continued to press her for the matrimonial crown. At first she put him off, by pretending, that it could not be conferred upon him before he was one-and-twenty years of age; but, at last, she plainly told him, that she had done too much for him already; and that the consent of her parliament was necessary for such a step. Mary now found herself under such circumstances, that she began, in good earnest, to think of uniting all her subjects in their duty to her person; and the more, as Darnley every hour expressed himself implacable, to a degree of fury, against the proscribed lords. She was no stranger to their consequence in her dominions; and she knew the value of Murray's services. Morton, who in the minority of the earl of Angus, acted as head of the powerful family of Douglas, Ruthven, secretary Maitland, and all the congregationists who had not been proscribed, and had continued in their loyalty, became advocates for mercy towards the exiles, who were reduced to so low a pass, that they seemed to be objects rather of compassion than resentment in Mary; for even Murray had courted Rizio, who became an intercessor to Mary in his favour. Melvil (if we are to believe the Memoirs that carry his name) was then in high

A.D. 1566. favour with Mary, and seconded all applications in behalf of the exiles; but they met in the person of Throgmorton a still more effectual advocate.

Caution and
dissimula-
tion of Eli-
zabeth.

Elizabeth continued to act with astonishing dissimulation between Mary and the Scotch exiles. She had strictly enjoined the earl of Bedford to conceal from them, and from the world, that she was consenting to any favour, either pecuniary or other, that they met with in England; and had ordered him, as of himself, to send the three hundred harquebuziers, whom they petitioned for, to Carlisle. When she found that Mary was superior to all opposition in her own kingdom, she began to think that she had carried her dissimulation too far. Smith, her ambassador at the French court, was upbraided on that account; and Elizabeth herself was charged with being the author of all Mary's troubles, and the fomentor of the rebellion in Scotland. Smith, by Elizabeth's orders, laid the blame upon Rizio, and other foreigners about Mary's person; and pretended that Elizabeth had lent her countenance to the associated lords only to prevent their marriage from taking place, till it should be approved of by the court of France. The cardinal of Lorraine did not fail to promote his niece's cause, by declaring, that the French king and court had most cordially consented to the marriage. At last, Elizabeth was forced to acquaint the French

French and Spanish ambassadors, that she disapproved of the conduct of the Scotch lords, and was ready to give a public testimony of her disliking it. They remained still in the north of England; but they had sent the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning to be their agents at the English court.

The French ambassador, De Foix, thought he could not do his master better service than by dividing the lords from Elizabeth, so as to oblige them to depend wholly upon the French court for their pardon with Mary. He privately acquainted the two agents that Elizabeth had entirely given them up; and he offered to introduce them next day into her presence, to convince them, from her own mouth, of her displeasure at their conduct. He was as good as his word; and Elizabeth, without appearing to be disconcerted, demanded of Murray how such a rebel, as he had approved himself to be to his own mistress, durst appear before her. She charged him at the same time not to presume to vindicate his conduct, by pretending to have had encouragement from her, for she had given them none. The following was Murray's remarkable answer: "Madam, whatever thing your majesty meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithful promises of aid and support by your ambassador and familiar servants

*She seems
to abandon
the rebels.*

A.D. 1566. in your name; and further, we have your own hand-writing confirming the said promises." If this answer is genuine, (which some have questioned) there could have been no preconcert between Murray and Elizabeth; and we are told, that some days after she forced them to come and confess upon their knees, in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that she had never moved them to any opposition or resistance against their queen's marriage. When they had made this confession, "Now (said Elizabeth) you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any in my name, stir you up against your queen: for your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore get ye out of my presence; ye are but unworthy traitors." It is impossible, from the closeness of Elizabeth's management, and that of Cecil, who befriended Murray, to pronounce, whether the whole of this interview was not a farce agreed upon previously to be acted by Murray and his associate. The sequel makes it somewhat probable that it was.

Divisions in
the English
court.

Elizabeth's court was then distracted by the divisions which prevailed between her favourite and her minister. Leicester knew that Elizabeth had secretly given way to Mary's marriage with Darnley; and considered himself as the victim of her state policy. The exquisite dissimulation of Elizabeth was such, that she suffered

A.D. 1566.

suffered it to be debated in council, whether she ought to marry the archduke or Leicester? The freedoms taken on this occasion by Cecil and his friends were so highly resented by that proud favourite, that she commanded him not to appear in her presence; and she admitted Cecil to a greater degree of confidence than ever. That minister had never befriended Throgmorton; and had even endeavoured to ruin him with Elizabeth. Throgmorton had long dissembled his discontent; and his zeal to serve Elizabeth had, while he was last in Scotland, carried him to greater lengths than his judgment approved of, by forming intrigues among the associated lords, and promising all they could require on the part of his mistress. He thought that the juncture was favourable for ruining Cecil; and made no secret of his having been instrumental in deceiving the Scotch lords, by bringing them to trust to Elizabeth's promises. He took an opportunity, in a conference with the two agents, to advise them to throw themselves entirely upon Mary's clemency; and never to rely upon the promises of any foreign power. Murray seemed penetrated with what he said; and the more, as he plainly perceived that he could have no dependence upon Elizabeth. Upon his representing to Throgmorton the bad success he had already met with in his applications to Mary, that great minister, who knew how much he was

was

A. D. 1566. was esteemed by that princess, wrote her a letter of mediation in their favour. It is published in Melvil's Memoirs, and often reprinted; but as it may be considered as a master-piece of composition, with regard to honesty, wisdom, and spirit, I can with no propriety avoid giving the reader some idea of its contents.

Throgmorton's noble letter to Mary in favour of the rebels.

Throgmorton having been always a declared partizan for Mary's succession to the crown of England, begins his letter by laying before her the state of her party in that kingdom; and informs her, that her enemies had formed a design to have called her succession in question in parliament, had it met in October; but that her friends had found means to have it prorogued to the following spring. He advises her to abstain from all foreign connections which might give umbrage to the people of England, and to trust to the benevolence of her own subjects. He thinks, however, that she ought to keep on fair, but general, terms with France and Spain; and that in point of policy, her marriage with Darnley was a wise measure. He advises her to continue temperate and moderate with regard to religion, and not to attempt either to innovate or alter it, by which she certainly would strengthen her party in England. In matters of state, "they (says he) who are constantly yours, are easily retained at your devotion: those who heretofore have borne any favour,
and

and by the late occurrences are any way brangled (staggered), will be brought home again when they shall see your majesty, now when it is fallen in your hands to use rigour or mercy, as you please, rather incline to the plausible part, in shewing your magnanimity, when you have brought your subjects to submission and gentleness, as the good pastor to reduce his sheep that were gone astray, home again to the fold. Those who are yet neutrals, by the same means, and true information of your interest by law, may all be won to your side. This done, when the matter comes in question, your friends will earnestly press your interest at this parliament, and you will without controversy bear it away."

Throgmorton next observes, that an intimate union of Mary with her subjects will make the queen of England her friend; that by pardoning Murray, notwithstanding all the provocations he had given her, she would shew she had been actuated by no difference in religion, and thereby gain the esteem and affection of the protestant interest in England, as well as Scotland. He proposes, that Mary should issue a well-penned proclamation for a general pardon; but with an exception of some principals. But even they were not to be proceeded against to extremes; for she was to require them to depart out of England to what country she should name, and there to remain upon their good behaviour

A.D. 1566. haviour during her pleasure. "In this mean time, (concludes he) if your majesty find that this benign usage of yours shall produce such fruit as here spoken, your majesty may further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for yourself. For your majesty hath still the crimes lying above their heads. In the mean time, all who favour them in England, will plead in their cause with your majesty, so far as their power extends, as if they were agents for your majesty. They will in no ways, if they can eschew it, be again in the queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for any support in the time of their banishment. But rather it may please your majesty, that their charges be allowed them of their own lands. By following this advice, which in no ways can be prejudicial to your majesty, but will much conduce for your interest, you may recover the greatest part of the bishops of England; many of the greatest nobility and gentlemen who are yet neutral."

Affairs of
the conti-
nent,

Together with this letter, (if we are to believe Melvil's Memoirs) Throgmorton sent, in cypher, a list of the names of Mary's English friends; and assured her, that if she behaved in the manner he had advised, that she might bid defiance even to Elizabeth herself, if she should attack her right of succession. Mary was deeply impressed by Throgmorton's gene-
rous

A.D. 1566.

rous and manly reasonings; and was preparing to have carried his advice into execution, when she was diverted from it by the pernicious politics of her mother-in-law Catharine de Medicis. Two French ministers, Rambouillet and Clernau, were then in Scotland. The first was ambassador from the French king, and invested king Henry with the order of St. Michael. The other, Clernau, was an agent for the cardinal of Lorraine. The latter was in the secret of a treaty that had been privately concluded between the king and queen-mother of France, and the king of Spain, for the extirpation of protestantism. In consequence of this treaty, the duke of Alva had marched with a formidable army into the Low Countries, to suppress the commotions then beginning there, and which terminated in the independent sovereignty of the Seven United Provinces, by throwing off their allegiance to Spain. The prince of Orange more than suspected the purport of the treaty, and had retired into Germany; but the counts Egmont and Horn, with other Belgic patriots, were publicly executed for favouring the insurgents, or, as they were called, the gueuxes, or beggars.

The like dispositions were making for exterminating the hugonots in France; and Clernau was instructed to obtain Mary's accession to this detestable treaty. His solicitation was

work a fatal alteration in Mary's sentiments.

A.D. 1566. seconded by one Thornton, who brought her a copy of the treaty from the archbishop of Glasgow, her embassador in France. This fatal application to Mary was made at a most critical time, when she had resolved to follow Throgmorton's advice in favour of the exiled lords. The two French agents gave a different turn to her ideas. She now considered herself as in a situation to revenge the wrongs that had been done by Elizabeth; to restore the religion of her forefathers, which was still dear to her affections; and to humble the party which had offered such gross insults to her person and dignity. Mary was not equal to the combat between resentment and prudence. The former prevailed. Her behaviour was altered all of a sudden; and she talked to Randolph in a strain that shewed she was determined to force Elizabeth to recognize her as her presumptive heir. She suffered the re-establishment of the mass in the high church of Edinburgh to be mentioned at her council-board; and had formed a party among the lords, who were to assist at it in her own palace. She appeared now to be more determined than ever to show no indulgence to the exiled lords; and she even retracted some favourable promises she made to Argyle's friends; one of Clernau's instructions being, that she should carry her rigour towards the exiled lords to its utmost extent.

Randolph's
letter to Cecil,
Feb. 7.

Mary

A. D. 1566.

She is betrayed.

Mary was the more elevated on this occasion, as she perceived herself to be pregnant; a circumstance which greatly flattered her hopes. We may, however, safely pronounce from Randolph's dispatches, that her most secret councils, and her most confidential discourses, were betrayed by those about her. He came to the knowledge of her having signed the treaty, and of its contents. We can be at no loss to account for her being thus betrayed, when we reflect, that besides the king her husband, the lord Ruthven, secretary Maitland, and other protestant lords, who were in her confidence, had now confederated for the removal of Rizio, either by death or otherwise. In short, it does not appear that Mary had about her a person, of any consequence, who was not in the conspiracy against her favourite, or who was not secretly in the interest of the exiled lords. Her husband still continued his factious, lewd, and disrespectful behaviour towards her person; but Mary had not in her court a friend bold or honest enough to tell her, that notwithstanding the splendid title with which she cloathed him, he might still be reduced to the rank of a subject. As he continued to be an implacable enemy to the exiled lords, he took Clernau into his favour; and it was resolved to shorten the prorogation of parliament, by fixing its meeting to the twelfth of March. This was fresh matter of consternation

A.D. 1566 nation to the exiled lords. Murray renewed his applications to Rizio, and seconded them by the present of a rich jewel. Rizio was sensible how much he was hated by the king and the nobility, and fell in with Murray's interest; but was soon gained over by Clernau to the opposite party.

The nearer the opening of parliament approached, the more plainly Mary discovered her intentions in favour of the Roman catholic religion. She had restored the popish ecclesiastics to their seats in parliament; she suffered mass to be established in different parts of the kingdom; and she declared warmly against the papists being persecuted for the exercise of their religion. The thirtieth article of the treaty of Bayonne partly explains the grounds for this behaviour. It imported, that "Calais, and other places lately belonging to the crown of England, shall be delivered to the king of Spain; and he shall help and assist the queen of Scotland, and restore her to her kingdom, in chasing away the queen of England; and helping to destroy all such as be affectioned, or make claim to the same kingdom." After perusing this extract, the reader can be at no loss to account for the reasons why Mary was so sanguine in favour of popery. She was so unguarded in declaring her sentiments, that the earl of Morton, and the other protestant nobility and gentry about her person,

person, were convinced she intended to resume the church-lands ; and the lords of the articles, who were to prepare the business for parliament, were entirely devoted to her views ; “ the spiritual state, that is the popish ecclesiastics (to use her own expression in her letter to the archbishop of Glasgow) being placed therein in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion ;” but she was now on the eve of an unexpected catastrophe.

She had always steadily refused to grant the matrimonial crown to her husband ; and his brutal behaviour towards her, seems to have ruined him in her affections as well as esteem. We have, however, no evidence of her having put any unbecoming slight upon his person ; and the instances of his ill usage mentioned by Buchanan, and some other writers, appear to have had no other foundation than the fondness he had for the diversions of the field, to which he used to resort with a very slender attendance. The dispositions made by Mary for opening the parliament, now rendered him a person of great consequence with every one who was either possessed of church-lands, or favoured the protestant religion, or were friends to the exiled lords. The earl of Morton, the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and secretary Maitland, all of them trusted by Mary, were at the head of the opposition. In an extract from one of Randolph's

Rizle's
death agreed
on ;

A.D. 1566. Such were the chief articles signed by the lords.

The terms
of the com-
promise.

The king, on the other hand, promised to restore and pardon the exiles, and to protect their persons and estates from being accused or forfeited in parliament. He likewise agreed to the establishment of the protestant religion, and to stand by them as faithful and loyal subjects in all their just causes, actions, and quarrels. Those preliminaries being fixed, the manner of dispatching Rizio came next under consideration. Morton and Ruthven proposed to have him tried by parliament, and hanged in execution of his sentence. This manly proposal was far from satisfying the king's pride and revenge. He insisted upon Rizio's being assassinated in the queen's presence, and even in her closet; declaring, that if they would not assist him, he would stab him with his own hand. The lords finding that the king could not be diverted from his purpose, agreed to the assassination; and that it should be performed while Rizio was at supper with the queen; an indecent familiarity to which Mary had often admitted him. Before the blow was struck, the conspirators thought proper, on the first of March, to prevail with the king to give a bond, in his name, to the earls, barons, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, declaring, that what was to be done, was entirely his

own

A. D. 1566.

Manner of
Rizio's
murder.

own contrivance, and bound and obliged himself, his heirs and successors, and their successors, to keep them free from all trouble for the taking and executing of David Rizio in the queen's presence, or otherwise. It was then agreed, in tenderness to the queen, who was six months advanced in her pregnancy, that the king should be present, so as to preserve her from any danger, while the conspirators were to enter her closet by two doors. It is remarkable, that lord Ruthven had, for some time before, been confined to his bed-chamber, by a distemper which had emaciated him so much, that he was scarcely able to support the weight of the armour he put on for executing the deed. On the ninth of March, Morton, who was then chancellor of Scotland, took possession of the outer passages leading to the queen's closet, and of the principal stair-case, while Ruthven and Douglas entered the same room by a private stair-case, which led to the king's apartment. Ruthven found Mary at supper with the countess of Argyle and Rizio, and the king with his hands about the queen's waist. Ruthven, with his helmet on his head, seemed to be the moving picture of Death; and with a voice dreadfully hollow, after reproaching Rizio for the bad offices he had done the king, by withholding from him the matrimonial crown, he demanded him to be immediately delivered up;

A. D. 1566. public tranquillity was resettled, which Ruthven promising to procure, left the company.

She is barbarously treated ;

Upon his retiring, some of the lords began to reflect upon their danger, if the exiles should return that night ; and procuring ropes and boards, escaped out of a window. According to Mary's letter, their escape was a great disappointment to the conspirators ; for they intended to have hanged Sir James Balfour, who had been appointed clerk-register in the room of Argyle, who was of Murray's party *. The queen remained all the while with her husband, confined to her chamber, and scarcely allowed to speak to her women or domestics. In the morning, happening to spy from her window Melvil the Memoir-writer, she desired him to make haste to acquaint the provost and citizens of Edinburgh with her condition, that they might come to her aid. Melvil, with some difficulty, passed the guards, and performed his commission. The provost complained of the backwardness of the citizens, on account of their dissatisfaction with the present government ; but he summoned them, however, and a party of them attended him to the palace. The king, on seeing them, ap-

* The accounts of this conspiracy are not materially different. Sir James Melvil says, that the earl of Athol, Tullibardine, secretary Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, were permitted to retire out of the palace, and were in great fear of their lives. The truth is, the conspirators were more assiduous in confining the queen than them ; so that it was easy for them to escape.

peared at a window; acquainted them that the queen and he were in perfect health; and that nothing had been done but by his command; upon which the citizens retired. By this time, a proclamation had been made at the cross of Edinburgh, without the queen's knowledge, that all the noblemen and prelates who had assembled there for the meeting of the parliament, should leave the town. A. D. 1566.

A more distressful situation than Mary was then in can scarcely be imagined; but neither her spirit nor understanding forsook her. She recollected she had still two expedients in store: the first was, to work upon the easiness of her husband in one of his sober hours; and the next, to have recourse to Throgmorton's proposal of being reconciled to the exiled lords. She had several times attempted to speak, in person, to the provost and citizens of Edinburgh; but if we are to believe her own words, she was prevented by the menaces of the conspirators, "who (says she) in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls." When the king acquainted her with the expected return of the exiled lords, she told him, that it was none of her fault that they were not sent for long before. She put him in mind how warmly he had opposed their recall, and even the favour that she had shewn to the duke of Chatleheraut. When she

A. D. 1566. he would have prevented her being treated in so inhuman a manner.

Behaviour
of Murray
upon his
return.

As Murray had not been active in the tragic scene that had lately happened, nor consenting to the queen's confinement, he appeared, when he next met the conspirators, with an air that disapproved of their conduct. The queen, at the same time, brought Darnley to a sense of his guilt. Upon his expressing his earnest desire to be reconciled to her, she pardoned him, on condition of his withdrawing all the guards and centinels from her apartments. In the morning, Murray assembled all his own friends, and the conspirators, in a consultation. If we are to believe Mary, it was there proposed to send her prisoner to the castle of Stirling, till she had consented to approve of all that had been done; to establish the protestant religion; and to bestow the matrimonial crown upon the king. She adds, that if this was denied, they, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put her to death, or to have detained her in perpetual captivity. But Mary, by this time, had entirely obtained an ascendancy over her husband, and the earl of Murray seemed still to be cold in the cause of the conspirators; so that they came to no resolution. Next day the exiled lords and others, with Morton, Ruthven, and the other conspirators, appeared at court, and fell upon their

their knees to Mary, while a formal speech was made in their behalf by the earl of Morton; and each afterwards apologized for himself in the best manner he could.

A. D. 1566.

Mary seemed to take their submission in good part; and, in general terms, promised them pardon, in hopes of their behaving better for the future. This assurance satisfied Murray and the exiles; but was far from being sufficient to the conspirators. They drew up a set of articles for a special pardon of all that had been done, which was to be presented to Mary. She understood their intention; and she artfully represented to her husband, that as the conspirators were still in possession of her palace, and continued their guards upon her person, her signing such a paper could not be construed to be a free act. She therefore insisted upon her being restored to her full liberty, that they and their followers should remove from the palace, and that they should be replaced by her ordinary guards and attendants. It was in vain for Morton and Ruthven to remonstrate, with the utmost violence, against the king's complying with those demands; and to protest, that all the bloodshed which should follow thereupon should fall upon him and his posterity. Mary was obeyed in every circumstance; and the conspirators were dispossessed of the palace. The indifference of the earl of Mur-

Prudent
conduct of
Mary.

A. D. 1566, ray still continuing, they sent a message to the king, to know whether the queen had signed the articles they had put into his hands? The answer returned was, "that the queen was indisposed, and had gone to bed."

who escapes from
Edinburgh
to Dunbar.

Mary was now so completely mistress of her husband's affections, that she had privately brought him to agree to their escaping from Edinburgh to the castle of Dunbar, and summoning all their faithful subjects to their assistance. This they did without loss of time. They marched in the dead of night out of Holyrood-house, attended by lord Traquair, Arthur Ereskine, captain of the queen's guards, and two or three other persons,

Thus ended Mary's troubles on account of the conspiracy against Rizio; and whoever candidly considers the whole affair, must admit that the assassination was unprecedented and barbarous in the last degree. The conspirators indeed afterwards alledged, that they intended to have preserved Rizio, that he might be publicly hanged next morning; and that his being put to death in the queen's presence, was owing to the violent hatred borne to him by some of their own number. This is far from extenuating the fact; as Rizio's only real crime was his being a foreigner, and trusted by his mistress in affairs which she could commit to no other secretary. It is not, however,

A.D. 1566.

ever, to be doubted, that Rizio, by his presumption and insolence, * had rendered himself detestable to the Scotch nobility; but it is amazing that Mary, who was a most advisable princess, had not (so far as we know of) a counsellor or servant about her who had the honesty and courage to represent the impropriety of the upstart's behaviour, and of her giving him her countenance and protection. It seems now to be agreed, that all the report of a criminal intercourse between Mary and Rizio is as improbable as it was malicious; and we have given sufficient reasons why, for some time before his murder, she was not fond of admitting her husband either to her bed or her company. The conduct of the conspirators, both before and after Rizio's death, renders them inexcusable. Nothing but a thirst for his blood could have blinded them so as

* The reader perhaps may not be displeased at seeing the extract of a letter giving an account of Rizio's effects. "That of the great substance David had there is much spoken, some say in gold to the value of eleven thousand pounds. His apparel was very good, as it is said, twenty-eight pair of velvet-hose, His chamber well-furnished, armour, dagger, pystelets, harquebuses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothing spoyle or lacked, saving two or three dagger. He had the custody of all the queen's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a juill that he had hanging about his neck of some price that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was slayn, a night-gown of damask furred, with a fatten dublet, a hose of russet velvet." See part of a letter from the earl of Bedford, and Mr. Thomas Randolph, to the lords of the council of England from Berwick, 27th of March, 1566. An original in the Cotton Library, Caligula b. 10. fol. 372.

A. D. 1566.

to follow the dictates of a mutable hot-headed youth, with whose weakness and wickedness they were well-acquainted. When the murder was over, their conduct was still more indefensible; for it appears plainly that they intended to strip Mary of all her power, and to govern in the name of her husband, whom they considered as their creature. The inhuman manner of perpetrating the action in Mary's presence, when she was above six months gone with child, carries with it a still higher degree of guilt, as it endangered her life by an abortion, or tended to make the misunderstanding between her and her husband irreconcilable.

Her vigorous proceedings against the conspirators.

Mary was fully sensible of their views, and resented them accordingly. She made a distinction between the crimes of Murray, and the other exiles who had opposed her marriage, and the ruffians who were engaged in Rizio's murder. She seemed placable towards the former, but irreconcilable to the latter. Her and her husband's escape to Dunbar being now known, the conspirators applied to the earl of Murray to write in their favour; and the lord Sempil was by them deputed to present to her the articles of their pardon, which her husband had said she would sign. They were not only rejected by Mary, but she ordered a proclamation to be made, commanding all her subjects in the adjacent counties to meet her

at Haddington on the seventeenth and eighteenth days of March, in arms, for the defence of her person. She ordered, at the same time, the lord Erskine, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, to fire upon the town of Edinburgh, if the conspirators should continue in it; and she omitted no measure that could contribute to bring them to justice. On the twenty-second of March, "she caused summon within six days to compare before her majesty's privy-council, under pain of high-treason, the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindsay, the master of Ruthven, the laird of Ormiston, the laird of Brimstown, the laird of Calder, Andrew Ker of Fadownside, the laird of Hatton, the laird of Ersfildoun, Alexander Ruthven, brother to the lord Ruthven, Patrick Murray of Tippermuir, Douglas of Wittingham, Mr. Archibald Douglas, his brother, George Douglas, Lindsay of Prestoun, Thomas Scot, the laird of Cambusmuhat, Douglas of Lochleven, James Jaffrey of Sheerhall, Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth, the laird of Moncrief, the fiar of Karfs, Patrick Wood of Bonnington, Mr. James M'Gill clerk-register, and their accomplices."

To support her authority the more effectually, Mary had privately dispatched messengers to the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, directing them to raise what forces they could, and march to her assistance. In the mean while,

A.D. 1566. while, the king behaved in a manner that rendered him, if possible, more contemptible than ever; for he absolutely denied that he ever had any concern with the conspirators, or had ever been consenting to Rizio's murder; and a proclamation was accordingly issued at Edinburgh, declaring the king's innocence in that affair. Mary still kept up her correspondence with Melvil, who continued his endeavours to detach Murray from his connections with the conspirators, whom that nobleman seemed willing to give up, and sent Mary a message to that purpose. The conspirators hearing that Huntley and Mary's other lords were advancing towards Haddington, fled to England, where Elizabeth consented to give them shelter. We cannot however imagine, that Murray was sincere in his professions to Mary, or that he imagined he could be safe, if he abandoned his party. Mary however continued to shew him a favourable countenance; and had actually passed special pardons to the duke of Chatleheraut, and the earls of Rothes and Glencairn.

She arrives
at Hadding-
ton.

Mary now ventured to remove from Dunbar to join her friends at Haddington. There she sealed Murray's pardon; but could not conceal from Melvil her dislike of the king for his folly and ingratitude. Melvil endeavoured to inspire her with more favourable sentiments; and laid the blame upon Douglass, who had
a chief

a chief hand in the conspiracy. Mary, notwithstanding all Melvil's suggestions, could not be reconciled to her husband; and she now treated him with reserve, or, at best, a decent civility. From Haddington, Mary proceeded to Edinburgh, where severe proclamations were issued for apprehending and punishing the conspirators. About fourscore of those who had taken possession of the palace-court on the night of Rizio's murder, were citizens of Edinburgh; two of whom, at the intercession of lord Bothwell, were convicted, and pardoned at the foot of the gallows; and only two of the most obnoxious suffered death.

The spirit and prudence with which Mary had conducted herself, leave us little room to doubt, that she had great qualifications for government. She now more and more discovered the expediency of Throgmorton's advice. She saw that even the lords who were best affected to her person and her cause were so, chiefly from the hatred they bore to their antagonists, and that they were not united even among themselves. The earl of Huntley was irreconcilable to Murray; and both he and the earl of Athol disliked Bothwell. Mary was in hopes of being able to fix the earl of Murray unalterably in her interest; and even complained to Melvil, who had succeeded Maitland as secretary of state, of Murray's enemies, who were daily teasing her, and endeavour-

Readmits
Murray into
favour.

A.D. 1566. desavouring to fill her with suspicions of his keeping up a secret correspondence with the conspirators. This is a proof that Mary certainly had thoughts of placing the earl of Murray once more at the head of her affairs; but many incidents concurred to frustrate her resolution. Her husband finding he had lost her affections, repented of what he had done; and not being in the secret of Murray and the conspirators, he had dropt some hints, which Mary was generous enough to communicate to Murray, as if that nobleman deserved to undergo Rizio's fate. It is here proper to give some account of the state of affairs in Ireland, in which the Scotch were at this time materially concerned, though unaccountably overlooked by all their historians.

Affairs of
Ireland.

Shan, earl of Tyrone, who pretended to be O'Neal, or king of all Ireland, had been for some years in rebellion against Elizabeth, whose deputy there was Sir Henry Sidney. Mary secretly sent over one M'Killing, to give O'Neal assurances of support; and, at her request, the earl of Argyle actually sent over six hundred men to that kingdom; but with orders to join neither party till he should receive farther directions. Maitland, who was then in exile in England, came to the knowledge of this transaction, and imparted it to Elizabeth, who employed Murray and Kirkaldy to divert him, which they did, from his resolution

resolution of supporting O'Neal. The latter knew nothing of Argyle's change of sentiments, or that he had sent orders to Oge, who commanded for him in Ireland, to join the lord-deputy. By this time, O'Neal had been reduced to the utmost distress by the English; but he threw himself, without any hesitation, into the hands of his supposed auxiliaries, the Argyleshire men, who were base enough to cut off his head, and send it to Sidney.

Even this important service done to Elizabeth by Argyle, through the agency of Maitland, could not bring that cautious princess to any declaration in favour of the conspirators or their friends. All she could be prevailed upon to do was, to connive at their taking shelter in England, and to consent to recal Randolph, (whom Mary now disliked so much, that she had ordered him not to appear at her court) and to send Henry Killigrew in his room. Mary was, at this time, doing all she could to unite her subjects in her service. Upon her arrival at the castle of Edinburgh, she set the earl of Arran (who had continued there for some years a prisoner) at liberty; but obliged him to find security for confining himself to the castle of Hamilton, or within four miles of the same, and to surrender himself when called upon by the king or queen. The earl of Huntley was admitted to the high office of chancellor, in the place of the earl of Morton;

Mary's popular conduct.

A. D. 1566, and the queen herself undertook to make up all remaining differences among her great subjects. The lords of her council had given it as their opinion, that she should continue in the castle of Edinburgh till the time of her delivery. Mary took that opportunity of inviting her nobility to a sumptuous entertainment; and among others, the earls of Argyll, Murray, and Glencairn, who, by Mary's orders, on the twenty-ninth of April resumed their places at her council-board. All differences between those three lords, and the earls of Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell, were referred to her, and seemingly conciliated. I perceive, by the extracts from Randolph's letters, that about this time, secretary Maitland was accused by Bothwell's servants, of an intention to poison that nobleman. This charge probably sprang from the malice which he bore Maitland; but from the abovementioned extracts we learn, that Maitland was under a cloud at court; and that he asked for leave to retire to Flanders, though we are told that Darnley was more incensed against him than Mary. He kept up a correspondence with Randolph, who had lost all credit and favour at the court of Scotland; while Sir Robert Melvil, Mary's ambassador at London, was highly esteemed and caressed by all parties.

The unwholesome situation of Edinburgh castle beginning to affect Mary's health, she had

had thoughts of removing to that of Stirling; and made a tour for some days in that neighbourhood; where it is said she demanded possession of that castle, but was refused it by the earl of Mar, because he had it in trust from the states of the kingdom; upon which she returned to Edinburgh. All this while, a seemingly amicable correspondence was carried on between Mary and Elizabeth, though each was jealous of, and hated, the other. Mary sent agents and messengers to the court of France, complaining of Elizabeth's having given shelter to the new set of Scotch rebels; and the French ambassador expostulated with Elizabeth so freely on that head, that she thought proper to forbid the earl of Morton, and his accomplices, to remain longer in England. Upon this, the earl of Morton (the old lord Ruthven being now dead) applied to Sir James Melvil for a recommendation to the elector palatine's service, as he durst not venture to go to any of the French or Spanish territories. Before he could receive an answer to this application, he was again privately encouraged by Elizabeth to remain quietly upon the borders; but in the mean time, a mysterious affair broke out between the two courts.

Mary had always been too solicitous in corresponding with her friends in England, and endeavouring to extend their interest there.

X x 2

Among

A. D. 1566.
Diffimula-
tion of
Mary and
Elizabeth.

An account
of Rookes-
by's myf-
terious
practices

A.D. 1566. Among others, she kept an agent, one Laffels, who resided in the north of England, and had a kinsman, one Rookesby, who being afraid of a jail for debt, formed a resolution of flying to Scotland, in which he was encouraged by Laffels, who was pretty deep in Mary's secrets; and he even gave him a letter to that queen. Rookesby being thus furnished, informed Sir Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, who was a declared friend to Mary's succession, and himself a papist, of his intention to repair to Scotland. Piercy had some apprehensions that Mary intended to force Elizabeth to declare her title to the succession; and as he wished well to the peace of his country, he engaged Rookesby, who appears to have been a very worthless fellow, to send him intelligence of all that should pass at the court of Scotland, promising to make so good use of it with Cecil, that Rookesby should be amply rewarded.

Rookesby arrived at Mary's court, while Randolph was yet in Scotland; and as he appeared there in the light of a fugitive and a spy, he was narrowly watched by that resident, who knew nothing of his connections with Piercy. Rookesby, according to Sir James Melvil, was introduced to Mary by the bishop of Ross, who was a Roman catholic; but Rookesby, in one of his dispatches to Cecil,

cil, mentions his being introduced by Melvil himself. It is certain that he had several private conversations with Mary, concerning her English friends; and that he informed Cecil she kept up a correspondence with Stanley, Herbert, and Darcy, all of them powerful barons; and that she was in hopes, by their means, of fixing in her party the duke of Norfolk, with the earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. He added, that Mary intended, as soon as matters were ripe, to enter England with an army, and to proclaim her title; and that she had sent to Lassels blank letters, for his filling up as he should see occasion. That she intended to secure in her interest two justices of the peace, in every county in England; and that she depended for assistance upon the Roman catholic powers on the continent.

Though I have given those pretended discoveries according to Rookesby, who was now fixed in regular pay, as a spy for Cecil, yet we are to make great allowances for his eagerness to have his intelligence appear of the utmost importance to his patron, who was himself but too apt to believe Mary to be a more dangerous rival to his mistress than she really was. I cannot conceive that it ever entered into her thoughts to dethrone Elizabeth, as Rookesby's intelligence insinuates, though nothing is more probable, than that if she had had time to form a party,

A.D. 1566. party, she would have endeavoured to force Elizabeth to declare her title to succeed her *. Whatever may be in these conjectures, it cannot be denied, that Rookesby was in high confidence with Mary, when she received intelligence from Sir Robert Melvil, that he was in pay to Cecil. Upon the arrival of Killigrew the new ambassador, Rookesby was secretly ordered to correspond with him ; and Killigrew, to give him the greater credit in his vocation as a spy, complained of his favourable reception in Scotland, and the encouragement he had received from the queen. Mary, upon this, immediately ordered Rookesby to be put under arrest, and all his papers to be seized, by which she came to the full knowledge of his business at her court. She found it dangerous to resent the manner in which her councils had been betrayed to Cecil, because she knew that great part of Rookesby's intelligence was true. He fell upon his knees, and confessed all his guilt ; and Mary ordered he should be put under close confinement. Killigrew was surprised at this proceeding ; and next time he came to court, Mary told him that she had arrested Rookesby upon his account ; and that she detained him, in order to send him prisoner to England, as soon as he should be claimed by the queen his

We is discovered and arrested.

* Melvil's Memoirs have given the clearest detail of any I have met with, as to this intricate affair ; but the author is mistaken in some, but not very material, circumstances.

mistress,

mistress. Mary thus carefully concealed all the discoveries she had made; and she ordered Sir Robert Melvil to make his court to Elizabeth more strongly than ever. A.D. 1566.

Though the earl of Murray was once more in great credit with Mary, yet it was easy to perceive, that Bothwell possessed more of her confidence than any other subject. This was very disagreeable to Murray, who continued to hate Bothwell, notwithstanding their seeming reconciliation. Bothwell increased his disgust by the insolence of his manners, and by devoting himself entirely to Mary's service, in defiance of all who had ever opposed her. It was the misfortune of Mary to imagine, that Bothwell was the only subject she had, who, without any consideration, either religious or interested, was sincerely attached to her person and authority. She believed him to be brave; and she knew that he had a great following, especially towards the borders, notwithstanding his extravagance and dissipation. She thought he was the more qualified to do her service, as he never had appeared an advocate for popery, and had always professed the reformed religion. Mary's other particular favourites were the lord Erskine, and Lesley bishop of Ross. Bothwell in great favour.

Such was the state of Mary's court, when in June, finding the time of her delivery approach, she seemed to be reconciled to her husband, Mary is delivered of a son.

A.D. 1566. band, and invited her chief nobility to Edinburgh, where she was delivered of a prince, afterwards James the sixth of Scotland, and first of England, on the nineteenth of June. His birth was attended with the most excessive demonstrations of joy among all Mary's subjects, especially her nobility, and the citizens of Edinburgh. She had been so provident, that she ordered Melvil, who acted as secretary of state, Maitland not being yet permitted to return to court, to hold himself in readiness to repair to Elizabeth with a letter written by herself; but with a blank, to be filled up according to the sex of the child. Melvil reached London in little more than four days time*. Elizabeth was then at Greenwich; and was informed by Cecil of Mary's delivery. She burst into tears, though engaged in dancing, and lamented to her ladies, "that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock." Next day Elizabeth gave Melvil and his brother a polite and engaging reception. Among other compliments, Melvil thanked her for having ordered the Scotch rebels to leave her dominions, though he said that there was a report of their being still harboured in England. He likewise mentioned the readiness with which Mary had ordered Rookesby to be arrested upon Killigrew's

* This was an uncommon dispatch, as we know of no turnpike roads or regular post stages established at that time.

complaint. Elizabeth heard all he said with seeming satisfaction; and Melvil denied, in the name of his mistress, that she ever had encouraged O'Neal in his rebellion. He, at the same time, requested her majesty to be god-mother to the new-born prince.

A. D. 1566.

Before Sir James Melvil left England, he mentioned to Elizabeth Mary's right of succession to the English crown. He was encouraged in this by the state of parties at Elizabeth's court. Leicester continued his violent opposition to Cecil, who was generally looked upon to be the great obstacle to Elizabeth's declaring Mary her successor. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, and other English noblemen, (who though they favoured Mary's succession, had appeared averse in pressing it upon Elizabeth) publicly said, that the matter was now altered, since Mary was the mother of a prince. Melvil enforced their reasoning with great art and address; and Elizabeth heard him with complacency. She had, by this time, forced the earl of Northumberland to give up all the letters he had received from Mary, and to make a full discovery of her party, and their practices. This knowledge rendered Elizabeth still more cautious, as she found that the friends of Mary were more powerful than she had imagined. When Melvil insisted upon her returning an answer to his request, Elizabeth acknowledged, that the

Sir James
Melvil sent
to England.

A. D. 1566. circumstance of Mary's having a son was greatly in her favour; and she heartily wished that the English lawyers, who were to be consulted upon the succession, should give their opinion to her satisfaction. She added, that she would send her answer to Mary by the nobleman who was to represent her at the baptism of the young prince. So complete a courtier as Melvil was, was not to be imposed upon even by Elizabeth; for he saw her duplicity through all its disguise; and he left her court with a very bad opinion of her intentions towards his mistress.

Melvil returns to Scotland.

About the time of Melvil's returning to Scotland, Killigrew took his leave for his return; and Mary presented him with a gold chain, as Elizabeth had Melvil. He carried with him two letters from Mary to Sir Robert Melvil, one to be shewn to Elizabeth, and the other to Cecil; the contents of which were intended to destroy the disagreeable impressions which Rookesby's intelligence had made upon Elizabeth. These letters had been requested by Sir Robert Melvil, who furnished his brother with a set of instructions for Mary's and his own behaviour, which shew the writer to have been an able minister. Among other matters that came to light about this time, was a discovery made by Mary, of Randolph having sent three thousand crowns to the countess of Murray, while her husband was a rebel;

rebel; for which she ordered Randolph to leave her kingdom; and expressed her indignation in a letter to Elizabeth, which is still extant. A.D. 1566.

Upon Mary's recovery, she spent some days at the earl of Mar's house at Alloa, where she received the compliments of Castelnau the French ambassador extraordinary, who had been sent over to congratulate her upon her delivery. Mary had a particular regard for this minister (who by the English is called Mauvissier); and he applied himself to make up all differences, not only between the queen and her husband, but to obtain pardon for the earl of Morton, and his friends. He succeeded so well, that Maitland was once more admitted into Mary's presence, and her husband lay with her two nights. Soon after, he attended her and the other noblemen at a hunting-match. We are therefore to give no credit to the gross aspersions of Buchanan, who has accused Mary of the most outrageous behaviour towards her husband at this time. I do not pretend to say, that he had recovered her heart, or that he was admitted into any share of the government. He had shewn himself unworthy of both. It appears, however, from unquestionable authorities, that Mary's behaviour towards him was decent and respectful; and that his complaints of her arose from his own haughty, intractable spirit; and at seeing

Mary goes
to Alloa.

A. D. 1566. himself, for his weak, irresolute, conduct, despised and detested by all parties.

True state
of the dif-
ferences be-
tween her
and her
husband.

The hunting-match being over, the king returned with the queen first to Edinburgh, and then to Stirling. While Mary remained there, the king formed a project of going abroad; and declared, that he had actually a ship ready to carry him off. Mary's business requiring her presence at Edinburgh, she desired her husband to attend her thither, which he declined; and his father, the earl of Lenox, who had been, of late, seldom or never at court, paid him a visit; and after being with him two or three days, he returned to Glasgow, from whence he wrote a letter to the queen. He there informed her, that notwithstanding his most earnest dissuaves by letters, and in person, the king persisted in his project of going abroad. Mary communicated this letter to her council, who seemed to be surprized at its contents; and next day the king arrived at Edinburgh, but refused to enter the palace, unless certain lords, who were then with the queen, were removed from her presence. This was a demand which must have been thought very arbitrary, even in an hereditary king, as the lords excepted against were three of the first noblemen in the kingdom, and their conduct was unimpeached. Mary behaved with the greatest decency on the occasion, even walked
into

into the street, and kindly conducted the king to her apartment, where he remained all night; but she could draw from him no information as to the ground of his discontent. Next day, the lords of the council, and the French ambassador, repaired to the palace, and being admitted into the presence of the king and queen, they said every thing that was proper to divert him from his resolution; and offered him all imaginable satisfaction, if he thought he had any just cause of complaint. The behaviour of Mary was affecting and tender. She pressed his hand, and desired him for God's sake to declare whether she had given him any grounds for forming such a resolution, desiring him to speak plainly, and not to spare even her. He remained in a fullen humour, denying that he had any design to go abroad, or that ever the queen had given him any occasion of discontent; upon which he took leave of the company, and returned to Stirling.

The lords of the council were inclined to think, that, as the king had behaved in the manner he did, when so fair an opportunity was given him of venting his grievances, the earl of Lenox had given the queen a false alarm. They were soon undeceived by the certain intelligence they had of his continuing his preparations to go abroad, and by a letter which he wrote to the queen. He there com-
plained

A.D. 1566. plained that her majesty had not trusted him with so much authority, nor was she at so much pains, as at first, to advance and honour him; that he had no attendants; and that the nobility deserted his company. The queen answered his letter with the greatest accuracy, and strength of reason. She put him in mind how deeply he was concerned in Rizio's murder, and in the alarming danger, and unprecedented treatment she had undergone on that occasion. She mentioned the tenderness with which she had concealed his guilt, and the respect with which she treated him afterwards; but that after such a behaviour, it was no wonder if she thought that his advancement was too hasty, as it had brought herself into such peril. With regard to his other complaints, she said, that he himself was to blame, if he was not attended, as she had always offered her own servants; that he had behaved in the most disobliging manner to the nobility, and had even refused to admit into his room such of them as she had appointed to be about his person. She added, that "if the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof: for if he desire to be followed and attended by them, he must, in the first place, make them to love him; and to this purpose must render himself amiable to them: without which, it will prove a most difficult task for her majesty to regulate this point, especially
to

to make the nobility consent that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands, because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter *." I have been the more expli-

A. D. 1566.

* In representing the above facts relating to Mary and her husband, I have paid little or no attention to the allegations brought by Buchanan, and Mary's other enemies, against her. They could be informed only at second hand; and the interest they had in aspersing her person and character is well known, and I think must strike every candid reader with conviction of their falshoods. The general laws of history, therefore, require other evidence, if it can be had, and such, fortunately for Mary's memory, present themselves. The first is a letter from the lords of the privy-council of Scotland to the queen-mother of France, dated October the eighth, 1566, and sent by secretary Ledington, who it seems was now restored to that post, to the archbishop of Glasgow, the twenty-fourth of October following. The next evidence is a letter from Monsieur le Croc, the French ambassador in Scotland, to the archbishop of Glasgow, the queen of Scotland's ambassador in France. I consider the first of those letters as a state-paper, which has sufficient authenticity to establish the facts it contains, otherwise there must be an end of all historical evidence; but were it deficient for that purpose, I think its authority is put beyond all question by its remarkable coincidence with le Croc's letter, which contains some particulars that are different from that of the lords of the privy-council, but none that affects any material point. The lords say, that the king took leave of the queen, and that they were of opinion the earl of Lenox had given her majesty a false alarm. They likewise mention, that he disclaimed his intending any voyage, or having any discontent; and declared freely, that the queen had given him no occasion for any. Le Croc does not mention the last circumstance; but says, that when he left the queen, he told her she should not see his face for a long space, and then took leave of him, and the lords in presence. These little immaterial variations in the two narratives strongly confirm the veracity of both; for had their authors been in concert, a stroke of a pen would have removed them; not to mention, that le Croc, who was a minister of age and experience, durst not have ventured to obtrude a falshood upon his court. His letter is as follows:

A Letter

A.D. 1564 out with regard to this critical interview, because it is of the utmost importance for clear-

A Letter from Monf. Le Croc, the French ambassador in Scotland, to the archbishop of Glasgow, the queen of Scots ambassador in France.

" Monfieur,

" On the twenty-second day of the last month, your brother, Mr. Bethune, arrived at Stirling, where he found this queen in good health, as likewise the prince her son, who is a very fine child; and thrives so well, that against the time of his christening his god-fathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms. They are lookt for about the end of this month. The queen is now returned from Stirling to Liffburgh, as being vacation-season, which, as you know, continues in this country from August until Martinmas, and during which, the nobility are convened to look after the publick affairs of the queen and her realm. The king, however, abode still at Stirling; and he told me there, that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation. I said to him what I thought proper at the time; but still I could not believe that he was in earnest. Since that time, the earl of Lenox, his father, came to visit him; and he has written a letter to the queen, signifying, that it is not in his power to divert his son from his intended voyage; and prays her majesty to use her interest therein. This letter from the earl of Lenox the queen received on Michaelmas day in the morning; and that same evening the king arrived here about ten o'clock. When he and the queen were a-bed together, her majesty took occasion to talk to him about the contents of his father's letter, and besought him to declare to her the ground of his designed voyage: but in this he would by no means satisfy her. Early next morning the queen sent for me, and for all the lords, and other counsellors. As we were all met in their majesties presence, the bishop of Ross, (John Leslie) by the queen's commandment, declared to the council the king's intention to go beyond sea, for which purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail; and that her majesty's information hereof proceeded not from the rumour of the town, but from a letter written to her by his own father, the earl of Lenox: which letter was likewise read in the council. And thereafter the queen prayed the king to declare in presence of the lords, and before us, the reason of his projected departure, since he would not be pleased to notify the same to her in private betwixt themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare if she

ing up Mary's character as to her husband's unhappy fate, and her more unhappy connections with Bothwell.

she had given him any occasion for this resolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the queen's honour; that if the queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her majesty; as, on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise. Therefore, that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formerly seen, and did presently see. After several things of this kind had passed among us, the king at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the queen, "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." After which, he likewise bade me farewell; and next turning himself to the lords in general, said, "Gentlemen, adieu." He is not yet embarked; but we receive advertisement from day to day that he still holds on his resolution, and keeps a ship in readiness. It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance; for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the queen. And I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct; for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division. I suppose your brother, Mr. Bethune, Mr. Thornton, and other friends, write you so amply concerning all matters, that I need trouble you with no more. This queen hath commanded me to write to the queen her mother-in-law, (queen-mother of France) touching the promise which the late king her father-in-law made, be ratified to you by the late king her husband, and afterwards by the king now reigning. Mr. Thornton can inform you what I have wrote thereanent. And I beg you will believe that I will as cheerfully perform any thing that concerns you, as you can desire me; for I am very much beholden to you, both for the good offices you do me yourself, and for those I receive from your friends here; for all which I render you my most humble

A. D. 1566.

Her conduct
vindicated.

No historian can positively pronounce any judgment upon the real intentions of Darnley in this froward, pettish, proceeding. If, as Mr. Knox has asserted, (and I believe very truly) Darnley complained to the courts of Rome, Spain, and France, that the disorders of Scotland were owing to the mass and popery not being again erected; and laying all the blame upon the queen, as not managing the catholic cause aright, we obtain some light as to his conduct. A youth so hot-headed and ambitious as he was, might very readily flatter himself with a scheme of ingratiating himself with the popish powers upon the continent at Mary's expence; nor is it at all un-

thanks. The cardinal of Lorrain acquaints me, that I must remain here about the queen two months longer than was in my commission; and assures me, that money for the defraying of my charges shall be sent by my son, who is to come hither in the retinue of the count de Briene. I wish it may be so; for in the mean time I lay out a great deal of money. Though still I be not able sufficiently to express the honour and bounty the queen here shews me; for she often prays me to ask money from her, or any other thing I stand in need of. All the lords likewise open their purses to me, and testify a desire that I may not go away. However, I am hopeful (please God) to return immediately after the baptism is over. You will be informed that the nobility here do write an account of all things they and I were, and are daily, witnesses thereof, to the king and queen of France, and the cardinal of Lorrain. This is all I have to say at this time, except to recommend myself most humbly to your favour, in which I beseech you to allow me both to live and die. I pray God, Monsieur, to grant you long life and health. From Jedburgh, this fifteenth of October, 1566.

Your most humble and obedient servant,
Le Croc."

likely,

A. D. 1566.

likely; that they put Mary in possession of some of his letters. Those particulars, however, have no relation to her conduct, and serve only to give us a higher idea of her prudence and patience. She often unbosomed herself to Sir James Melvil, and shewed prodigious sensibility of her condition, the behaviour of her husband, and her apprehensions that the earl of Bedford, who was to represent Elizabeth at her son's baptism, would interceed for Morton and his associates. She had already, at Murray's request, pardoned two of them, Ormiston and Elphinston; but Morton, who had laid aside all thoughts of going abroad, remained, in a moving state of life, between the borders of Scotland and England. He had availed himself of Bothwell's unpopularity, who had been by Mary appointed lord-lieutenant of the marches (a trust which was thought formerly to be of too great importance to be reposed in any one subject); and had formed a strong party among the borderers, particularly the Scots, the Eliots, and the Maxwells.

Ever since the queen's marriage, the borderers of both kingdoms had been in a state of hostility; and complaints were daily passing between the two courts on that account. Upon Mary's replacing the earl of Bothwell in his lieutenancy, which he held under her mother, the laird of Cesford, warden of her middle marches, had declared himself Morton's friend.

She marches to the borders.

A. D. 1566. Buccleugh, one of the most powerful barons in those parts, had followed his example; and the Eliots had, in a manner, put themselves under the protection of the English wardens. The lord Maxwell was likewise Bothwell's declared enemy; and his insolent behaviour was such, as seemed to justify their opposition. Mary loved to appear in the field, and to act personally in a military as well as civil capacity. She valued herself upon imitating the most renowned of her predecessors; and she had always found it attended with singular advantages to her person and authority. The differences between her and her husband had endeared her to her people; and whatever private animosities were in the kingdom, all of them were united in her service. The open disrespect that had been shewn to her lord-lieutenant by the associations of his enemies, (among whom was the lord Hume) called for a vigorous assertion of her authority; and she resolved to hold justice-courts (or, as they are called, *airs*) at Jedburgh, and other places near the borders, for bringing the delinquents to justice. While she was preparing for this progress, she ordered her lieutenant, the earl of Bothwell, to secure as many of them as possible. They had foreseen this, and were upon their guard. Bothwell depending more upon his commission, than any armed force he carried with him, marched into the province of Liddesdale,

Liddesdale, where their chief strength lay; but they were so much upon their guard, that he was attacked by one John Eliot of the Park, and so desperately wounded, that he was carried home to his own house at Hermitage.

Mary was then at Jedburgh, attended by her subjects in arms, according to proclamation. She knew that the association formed by her borderers was only against Bothwell; and that her presence alone could prevent any farther disagreeable consequences. The insurgents had declared, (as appears by a letter to Cecil from the earl of Bedford) that they would live and die with Cesford, and withstand Bothwell, unless the queen came in person. Mary had no time to lose. As the association was stronger perhaps than she imagined, she immediately set out in person to visit Bothwell, and to obtain from him proper informations. Perhaps gratitude might have had some influence upon her on this occasion; and she travelled from Jedburgh to Bothwell's house, which is about eighteen miles, as is said, of very bad road; and finding Bothwell in no imminent danger, she conversed with him for a few hours, and returned the same day to Jedburgh. Such are the particulars of the famous visit paid by Mary to Bothwell, which has all the appearance of being a prudential, if not a necessary, measure; and had it not been for the fatal steps taken afterwards by Bothwell, I may venture

She visits
Bothwell,
who is
wounded.

Dated Aug:
3.

A. D. 1566. ture to say, that her visiting him would have been considered by impartial posterity as a noble instance of firmness and humanity *.

Mary falls
dangerously
ill.

Upon Mary's return to Jedburgh, she fell ill of a violent fever, which some of her historians have partly ascribed to the anguish of mind she had suffered on Bothwell's account, as if such a fatigue as she had undergone might not have affected the strongest constitution, when added to her anxiety of mind, on account of the state of public affairs †. She lay in a swoon for two hours; and recovering from

* The ingenious and accurate author of an Inquiry Historical and Critical into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, to whose work I am greatly obliged in this part of my history, has very fully vindicated Mary's conduct in this interview; and nothing can be more plain, (notwithstanding the efforts of certain systematic writers of her history to the contrary) than that the dangerous state of her affairs on the borders, at that time, gives her visit to Bothwell the air of a military, rather than an amorous excursion. I shall only add one observation to those made by that writer; and it is, that when Mary was really in love, as she was with Darnley, before she married him, she was not satisfied with a hasty visit like that now paid to Bothwell, but remained in his room, and attended him personally during his illness.

† If Mary was at this time so deeply engaged in a criminal passion for Bothwell, as that her life was endangered on his account, she is the only abandoned votary of Venus to be met with, perhaps, in history, who could be contented with a slight interview, when it was in her power to have invented a thousand pretexts (especially considering the journey she had made that very day through almost impassable roads, and as October was then far advanced) for obtaining a longer indulgence in her lover's company. The historians, therefore, who think that Mary was then distractedly fond of Bothwell, must form their ideas of woman-kind not upon the models of nature, but upon the characters exhibited by Madam and Monsieur Scudery, and other romance writers.

that,

that, she became delirious. Her senses returning, she prepared for death with becoming piety and resignation; but recommended her son, in the most earnest manner, to the guardianship of the queen of England, whose ministers and party in Scotland were the most determined enemies that Bothwell had. Is this a proof of the anguish of mind she was suffering on his account? Is it not an evidence that criminal affections had then no place in her heart? Mary's youth, and strength of constitution, got, at last, the better of her disease. While she lay ill, her husband received notice of her danger, and paid her two visits at Jedburgh; but parted with very little satisfaction on either side. By a letter from le Croc, to the archbishop of Glasgow, that minister seems to think that her illness was occasioned, in a great measure, by her resentment at the injury she had received from her husband. "You know very well (says he) that the injury she has received is exceeding great, and her majesty will not forget it." Le Croc afterwards gives his sentiments with great freedom, both of the queen and her husband, with whom he had several long conversations at Jedburgh. He blames the latter for his haughtiness in not humbling himself as he ought; and the queen for her suspicions of some contrivance, when she saw any one nobleman speaking with the king.

A. D. 1566.

Dated Edinburgh, December 2.

A. D. 1566. king *. Buchanan has given us a most lamentable picture of the king's repentance, and Mary's implacable hatred of his person during this interview; and that he came to Jedburgh by long journeys. Le Croc, who was on the spot, on the other hand, in a letter dated the twenty-fourth of October, blames the king, who was at Glasgow, for not having then come to Jedburgh, "although (says he) he has both received advertisement, and has had time enough to come, had he been willing. I cannot excuse him for this fault."

She reco-
vers, and
corresponds
with Eli-
zabeth.

During Mary's illness, the lords of her privy-council, among whom I find the earls of Murray and Bothwell, on the twenty-fifth of October (so that Mary was not then pining for Bothwell's absence) published a proclamation for preserving the publick tranquillity. Upon her recovering her health, she set out upon a tour through the borders, on her return to

* Had she not reason from his former conduct, and from his haughty behaviour, even when he was at Jedburgh? Is it possible to find a more distressful situation of mind than what must arise from the reflections of a woman, who like Mary, in the bloom of youth, had refused her hand to the greatest princes in Europe, and had given it in marriage to a subject, who had made such ungrateful returns, and behaved to her so brutally as Darnley had? A woman of less delicacy than Mary, would have found perhaps some relief in the thoughts of a divorce; but that seems not to have entered her mind, though I believe it had been suggested to her by some of her friends abroad; so that she had now no prospect but that of her being associated during the remainder of her life, with a worthless, irreconcilable, profligate.

Edinburgh.

A.D. 1566.

Edinburgh. She visited Kelso, the English castle of Werk and Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn. Having some desire to see Berwick, she was met by Sir John Forester, the earl of Bedford's deputy, with about three-score gentlemen; she being attended by eight hundred, or a thousand horse. The reader, in * Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, will find a passage well worth his attention, with regard to some particulars of this journey. The nature of Fo-

Letter from
secretary
Maitland,
Nov. 19.

* I have already hinted at my difficulties with regard to the authenticity of Melvil's Memoirs. The writer, whoever he was, has certainly committed a gross anachronism in supposing, that Mary's journey to Jedburgh, and Bothwell's wounds, were performed after her son's baptism, which was on the seventeenth of December.

"After the baptism, and parting of the embassadours, her majesty, desirous to put good order upon the borders, sent the earl of Bothwell before, who, in the pursuit of thieves, was hurt. Her majesty past afterwards to Jedburgh herself, where the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the slaughter of the earl of Murray; but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented the enterprize. Her majesty returned by the Merse, and desired to see Berwick afar off, where she was honoured with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Foster, warden upon the English border, came and conferred with her majesty for keeping of good order. And the mean time, while he was speaking with her majesty on horse-back, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs, to take the queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her majesty's thigh very ill. Incontinent, the warden lighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees, craving her majesty's pardon, for then all England did much reverence her: her majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt; yet it compelled her majesty to tarry two days at the castle of Hoomie, until she recovered again. The king followed her whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himself slighted, he went to Glasgow, where he fell sick, it being alledged, that he had got poison from some of his servants."

A. D. 1566. refter's truſt did not ſuffer him to admit Mary into Berwick; but while ſhe was taking a view of the town, ſhe was ſaluted with a full diſcharge of the artillery, and received all the honours that were due to her rank. When ſhe arrived at Dunbar, ſome diſpatches from England, ſent her by Sir Robert Melvil, gave her ſo much ſatisfaction, that ſhe wrote a moſt polite letter to the privy-council of England. She there thanked Elizabeth for all her good offices; and mentioned that, as a mark of her ſincerity, ſhe had, when ſhe thought ſhe could not live above twelve hours, left her ſon to Elizabeth's ſpecial care and protection. She mildly put them in mind of her right to the ſucceſſion; but ſaid, that ſhe had no intention to preſs her good ſiſter on that head, further than ſhould come of her own pleaſure." Yet, (added ſhe) becauſe in that caſe we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do effectually require you to have reſpect to juſtice with indifference, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the queen your ſovereign to put the ſame matter in deliberation. As to us, we will no ways inſiſt therein, till ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe herſelf to give us warning." It is now proper to attend the affairs of England.

Debates of
the Engliſh
parliament
about the
ſucceſſion.

The houſe of commons at Weſtminſter, and indeed the nation in general, continued to be divided in their ſentiments as to the right of ſucceſſion in the houſes of Stuart and Gray.

The

A.D. 1566.

The debates on that head were unusually warm, and displeasing to Elizabeth. By principle, she undoubtedly favoured the house of Stuart; but she still thought that any declaration in favour of Mary must render her party too formidable in England; and she endeavoured to silence all debates upon that head, by pretending, that she intended herself, to marry. The members, not satisfied with this declaration, pressed upon her a nomination, as being the only means for ensuring her safety. A committee of all the privy-counsellors, members of the house, and forty-four others, were named to demand a conference with the lords, who joined them in addressing Elizabeth to know her sentiments with regard to her succession. Her answer was peevish (though she hinted that she was inclined to marry), and, as usual, indecisive. This answer being reported to the house of commons, threw it into a fresh flame; and Dalton, one of the members, took occasion, from a pamphlet which had been printed at Paris, in favour of Mary's succession, to throw out some very disrespectful words against her and her son; for which he was summoned to appear next day before the privy-council. Dalton there made an apology that he meant not to attack the house of Stuart, but the principles of the pamphlet-writer. His offence was remitted to the house; and Elizabeth sent it a message

A.D. 1566. against meddling any farther in the affair of the succession. The members resented this message; and a question was put by Paul Wentworth, whether the message was not a breach of privilege? Before the debates upon this question were finished, Elizabeth sent for the speaker, and strictly enjoined him against admitting any farther motions on that subject; and soon after she put an end to the session. This was a favour for which Mary returned her thanks to Elizabeth, who was far from intending to promote her title: all she meant was, to discourage the house of Gray, being determined to keep the title to her succession in her own breast.

Elizabeth
abates in her
demands
upon Mary.

During the course of those debates, Elizabeth had many opportunities of knowing the strength of Mary's party in England; and she reflected with uneasiness on the stubbornness of her parliament as to the succession, and how narrowly she had avoided a breach with it, on that account; this being the only period of her long reign that threatened so disagreeable an event. To give Mary a farther earnest of her affection, she ordered the earl of Bedford to assist at the ceremony of the baptism of the prince of Scotland. He received a set of instructions, charging him to touch, though gently, on her dislike of Mary's behaviour with regard to her marriage; and to make a great merit of her having discouraged all attempts

tempts made against her right of succession, A. D. 1566. and having punished the offenders. He was to complain of the reception which Mary had given in Scotland to certain English fugitives. With regard to the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, Elizabeth made a great abatement of her former demands. "Our meaning (said she) is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty, but that which directly appertains to us and our children, omitting any thing in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title, as next heir after us and our children; all which may be secured to her by a new treaty betwixt us. And for her security, she may have from us an engagement, that we will never do or suffer any thing that may be to the prejudice of her title, and shall declare against any who shall invade the same. You may persuade her that this manner of proceeding is the way to avoid all jealousies and difficulties betwixt us, and the only way to secure the amity." Among other instructions given to the earl of Bedford, one was, that the will of Henry the eighth should be examined, according to Mary's desire; an affair which demands explanation.

The parliament of England had passed an act, empowering Henry the eighth to limit and dispose of the succession of his crown to such person or persons as he should appoint by his last will made in writing, "and signed with his

*Account of
Henry the
eighth's
will.*

A.D. 1566, his most gracious hand." Henry delayed making his will till the thirtieth of December, 1546; about four weeks before his death, when the king was so unwieldy, that a committee of the council was appointed to put a stamp, imitating the king's hand-writing, and the royal signet, to those acts which required either. By this will, upon failure of the issue of his own body, the lady Frances Brandon, then her sister, and failing them, their next heir of kin were to succeed to the crown of England. By the same will, the princess Elizabeth was to succeed the princess Mary, if the latter should die without issue. This will had certainly never been signed by Henry; nor does it appear; indeed, that he ever intended it should take place. Secretary Maitland had discovered, that when Henry was almost in the article of death, if not already dead, one William Clark, servant to Thomas Heneage, had put the stamp to it; and Maitland appealed to the deposition of lord Paget for the truth of this fact; and that a few gentlemen had been at the same time called in to sign the will as witnesses. He likewise desired that the marquisses of Winchester and Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, Sir William Petre, Sir Harry Nevil, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Anthony Denny, Dr. Butts, (who was body-physician to Henry) and some others should be examined, and their depositions recorded in chancery.

It

It was by no means for the interest of Elizabeth that this will should appear; nor was she willing the public should be put in mind, that her sister and she could not at the same time be the legitimate daughters of Henry. Besides this, it broke in upon her favourite scheme of keeping the right to her succession indetermined. The partizans of the house of Suffolk, on the other hand, urged the act of parliament, which had impowered Henry to limit his succession; a point which Elizabeth did not chuse to discuss. From Maitland's letter, and the defence of Mary made by the bishop of Ross, it is probable that they had seen the will; but it is certain Elizabeth disregarded it so much, that it was not at that time forthcoming, nor recovered till the reign of queen Anne. Upon the whole, therefore, it is almost certain, that Elizabeth, by concealing her father's will, or suffering it to be concealed, disapproved of its destination, and secretly favoured Mary's succession.

A. D. 1566.
Policy of
Elizabeth.

Besides the above instructions given to the earl of Bedford, he was ordered by his mistress to touch upon the Irish affairs, and to thank Mary for her good offices with the earl of Argyll, in preventing him from assisting her rebels. He was likewise to propose a perpetual treaty of friendship between the two crowns, and secretly to represent to such of the nobility as seemed to favour such a measure, that
it

Earl of Bedford's instructions.

A. D. 1566. it was the only method of abolishing all jealousies and heart-burnings between the queens. One part of Elizabeth's conduct upon this occasion, though immaterial in itself, gives us an insight into her character and situation at this time. She repented Mary and her ministry's treatment of Tamworth, as above related, so much, that she joined him in the execution of some parts of the earl of Bedford's commission, with particular expressions in his favour. When she reflected more coolly, however, how disrespectful this step must appear to Mary, she retracted Tamworth's commission.

An account
of a propo-
sal made to
Mary for a
divorce.

Bothwell was now perfectly recovered of his late wounds, and appeared with more lustre than ever at Mary's court, where he seemed to have the chief direction. She still resided at Craigmiller, where a very extraordinary scene passed, which I shall be the more particular in relating, as its consequences became afterwards of the utmost importance to both parties. Bothwell had undoubtedly, by this time, formed a plan for either forcing or prevailing upon Mary to accept of him for a husband. Darnley's life stood in his way; and Mary still appeared to be irreconcilable to Morton, and the murderers of Rizio, whose return to Scotland, Murray and Ledington, with their associates, most earnestly wished for. To thoroughly comprehend the motives of the transaction I am to open, the reader must recollect that

that Mary's authority seems to have been now so fixed, that it was not to be shaken by faction or party. Murray, Morton, Ledington, and the other congregationists, had, in their turns, felt, to their severe experience, that the bulk of her subjects were not to be shaken in their allegiance, notwithstanding any pretext to the contrary, while they were permitted the exercise of their religion. Though the king was now seldom called to council by Mary, yet it was still in her power to have admitted him to a share of government, which must have rendered his authority respectable; and as he expressed the most bitter resentment against the murderers of Rizio, it became equally desirable for Murray, as for Bothwell, that the queen's marriage with him might be dissolved either by divorce or death.

Among the other noblemen who were then with Mary at Craigmiller, were the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were now highly in Mary's favour, and were justly considered as two noblemen of the greatest natural interest of any in Scotland, the one in the west, and the other in the north. They cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of Darnley's barbarous and scandalous behaviour towards the queen; nor is it to be doubted, that they wished her marriage could be set aside. As it was necessary for Murray and Ledington to impart their plan to those two noblemen, they

A.D. 1566. repaired to their apartment. There Murray enlarged upon the ingratitude he should be guilty of, if he and his friends should abandon the cause of Morton, and his associates, to whom they owed their own recall from banishment, and their not being forfeited and declared rebels. The two lords (Argyle having been in the same case with Murray) seemed satisfied to concur in any measure that could procure the recall of Morton and his friends, provided it gave no offence to Mary. Maitland then proposed a divorce, as being the most effectual inducement for Mary to consent to recall the exiles; and the two lords having no material objection, all four repaired to Bothwell's apartment; and he agreeing in the same opinion, they went in a body to the queen, to whom they made the proposal of a divorce. Mary objected to this, because it might turn to the prejudice of her son. She seemed rather inclined to pass some time in France, till her husband should see his errors, and reform his conduct. Maitland assured her that they would find means to rid her of her husband, without doing her son any prejudice; and (continued he) * though my lord of Murray, here present, is almost as true a protestant, as your majesty is a papist, he will look through his fingers

* I have here taken the liberty to modernize the language, the stile of the original declaration made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, from which this narrative is taken, being very antiquated.

thereto,

thereto, without saying any thing to the same. A. D. 1566.
 The queen's reply was, "that she would consent to nothing that might bring a stain upon her honour or conscience:" she therefore desired that they would let the matter stand as it was, till it might be remedied by Providence: "For the service (said she) which you may intend me, may possibly turn to my hurt and prejudice." Maitland closed the conversation, by desiring Mary to leave the management of the matter to them, promising that all should terminate for the best, and be approved of by parliament. The inference made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle from this conversation was, that Murray and Maitland were parties in the murder of the king, which happened soon after.

The exceptions taken to the authenticity of this declaration are so frivolous, that they deserve no notice; but we cannot think that the inferences drawn from it, either by the two lords, or by writers who favour Mary, are conclusive against Murray and Maitland. The temper of mind of the two noblemen, at the time of their making that declaration, when their mistress was actually accused of murdering her husband by Murray, must have rendered them so very unfavourable to that nobleman, that I think it is the strongest proof of their candour and veracity, that no part of their declaration, supposing its contents to be

Its authenticity vindicated.

A. D. 1566. strictly true, can amount to a charge of Murray's being participant in the murder. The proposing to rid, or (to use their own terms) to make Mary "quyte of" her husband, is very applicable to the divorce. As to what Maitland said about Murray's looking through his fingers without saying any thing, it more than probably related to the proceedings which might be necessary to be held at the court of Rome, (to which he had the strongest aversion) as both Mary and her husband were papists. The presumptions which afterwards appeared of Murray's guilt, are more discreditable to his memory than any thing contained in this protestation.

Mary set out from Craigmiller to the castle of Stirling, to be present at her son's baptism, which she designed should be very splendid, By a letter from le Croc to the archbishop of Glasgow, she and her husband were then upon very ill terms. "His bad deportment (says the embassador) is incurable; nor can there be any good expected from him, for several reasons which I might tell you, was I present with you." That he was at Stirling at the time of the baptism is certain; but he was not present at the ceremony. His absence has been construed greatly to Mary's disadvantage, as if it had been owing to her not allowing him where-withal to make a decent appearance; but this seems to be a groundless charge. Mary, who naturally loved pomp and magnificence, and who

Dated Dec.
#3.

Prepara-
tions for,
and celebra-
tion of the
baptism.

who was anxious about whatever concerned her son, would gladly have wished for his father's presence at the ceremony, had not Elizabeth instructed her embassador not to give him the title of king*; nor need we search for a far-

A. D. 1566.

* Dr. Robertson, in his History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 388, has made some pretty extraordinary observations upon this head, in express contradiction to Camden, who had the very best opportunities of information. He says, "First, that no such thing as Bedford being commanded by Elizabeth not to give Darnley the title of king, is to be found among Bedford's instructions."

Answer. No such thing is to be found among Tamworth's. We do not find that Tamworth was instructed to refuse Darnley the royal title; and yet it is most certain that he refused to accept even of a pass, which was so necessary for his safety, because it was signed by Darnley as a king. There was no occasion for Elizabeth to give Bedford any such instruction, because it was a standing maxim with Elizabeth, as appears in the case of Arundel of Wardour, not to allow her subjects to accept of any mark of honour or nobility, far less of sovereignty, from any foreign power, without her consent.

"Secondly, Bedford's advice (says the doctor) to the queen by Melvil, is utterly inconsistent with Camden's assertion."

Answer. Melvil's advice is so far from being inconsistent, that it seems to strengthen Camden's assertion. Melvil does not speak a single word of Bedford's giving any advice on that head to the queen. All he says is, that Bedford desired him to request her majesty to entertain her husband as she had done at the beginning; but not a syllable of his giving him the title of king.

"A paper (continues the doctor) printed in his Appendix, number 18, proves the same thing."

Answer. That paper proves the very reverse. Elizabeth there mentions her being offended with Darnley's disloyalty, "both (says she to Mary) in marriage of you, and in other undutiful usages towards me, his sovereign." Elizabeth, indeed, afterwards mentions the good offices she had employed to reconcile Mary to her husband; but not a word of giving him the title of king, or that can invalidate Camden's assertion, which is the great point in this case.

"Thirdly, Le Croc (says the doctor), the French resident, mentions the king's absence; but without giving that reason for it, which has been founded on Camden's words, though, if that had

A.D. 1566. ther reason for his absence from the ceremony.
The states, or rather the privy-council of Scot-

had been the real one, he would scarce have failed to mention it."

Answer. This is one of the most uncritical observations I have met with. Only a few, perhaps, of many letters of le Croc, written on this occasion, have come to our hands. The first in the page referred to by the doctor, is dated the second of December, several days before the earl of Bedford's arrival in Scotland: the second is dated the twenty-third of December, at which time he was under so strict a prohibition from his court not to correspond with Darnley; that he refused to see him, though three times earnestly requested. Le Croc therefore might very naturally be in the dark, as to Darnley's true motives for absenting himself from the baptism. Add to this, that Mary, who piqued herself, at this time, upon her friendship with Elizabeth, and made so great a parade of it before the foreign ambassadors, cannot be supposed to have been very forward in telling them, that if her husband appeared, the English minister would not give him the title of king.

"Fourthly, Le Croc (says the doctor) informs his court, that on account of the difference betwixt the king and the queen, he had refused to hold any further correspondence with the former, though he appears, in many instances, to have been his great confident."

Answer. I cannot perceive what use the doctor can make of this argument, which has been answered in the last paragraph.

"Fifthly, As the king (says Dr. Robertson) was not present at the baptism, he seems to have been excluded from any share in the ordinary administration of business. Two acts of privy-council, one on the twentieth, and the other on the twenty-first of December, are found in Keith, 562. They both run in the queen's name alone. The king seems not to have been present. This could not be owing to Elizabeth's instructions to Bedford."

Answer. This argument would have had some weight, if the king had never done any thing to offend Mary, not given her any occasion to alienate her affections from him, which the doctor himself repeatedly owns he had done. The most strenuous advocates for Mary may rest her justification upon that single point; and let me add, that if at that time she deprived him of all share of the government, she repaired a most illegal breach she had made in the constitution, and acted a wise part both for herself

A. D. 1566.

land, had granted the queen a taxation of twelve thousand pounds, that is, fix thousand pounds to be raised by the spiritual state, four thousand by the barons and freeholders, and two thousand by the burghs. This was a pretty extraordinary stretch of power in the privy-council; but to give it some appearance of law, I perceive that eight commissioners or burghs were present.

On the seventeenth of December, de Brienne, who had been sent ambassador extraordinary from France on the occasion, carried the prince into the chapel between two rows of nobility and gentry. Le Croc, the French resident, supplied the place of the Savoyard ambassador; the countess of Argyll appeared as proxy for Elizabeth; and the Roman catholic noblemen carried with great form, in the Roman catholic manner, all the utensils that were

Manner of
its per-
formance.

herself and her people. "This could not be owing (says the doctor) to Elizabeth's instructions to Bedford." Why not?— Might not Mary be glad of her authority to countenance her proceeding? Mean while I must observe, that, properly speaking, only one of the acts, mentioned by Keith, can be said to belong to the queen in council; for it is plain she was not present the second day, nor was it necessary she should.

Having said thus much, candour calls upon me to declare, that I believe the English ambassador's not giving Darnley the title of king, though the ostensible, was not the only reason why he absented himself from the baptism; for if Dr. Robertson had examined one of the letters he quotes, he must have observed, that so far back as the second of December, fifteen days before the baptism, Darnley had formed a resolution not to be present at the ceremony; and Le Croc always speaks of that resolution as being a whim of Darnley's.

to

A.D. 1566. to be employed in the ceremony. They were met in the entry of the chapel by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, with other popish prelates and dignitaries, and the baptism was performed (all but the ceremony of the spittle, which was omitted by the queen's particular order) by the archbishop, according to the Romish ritual. The prince was named Charles James, and his titles proclaimed to be prince and steward of Scotland, duke of Rothsay, earl of Carrick, lord of the isles, and baron of Renfrew. The earl of Bedford, with the protestant lords, stood without the chapel, during the baptism; but Mary performed the honours of the ceremony with the greatest politeness and good manners, though she never was known, when retired, to be more furcharged with grief and melancholy, than she was at that very time. This was owing to the terms on which she stood with her husband, who, for the reasons we have already seen, had absented himself from the baptism. Even archbishop Spotswood writes with an air of coolness upon that subject, while Buchanan is outrageous in his abuse of Mary, for her disrespect and neglect of her husband; but admitting that he was totally disregarded at the time by Mary, can we blame her, after what had happened, for humbling a man, who had repaid all her unexampled partiality in his favour, with brutal insults and treasonable attempts against

against her crown and person? Can it be surprizing that she disliked the presence of a man at the baptism of a child, whose existence he had endangered by a russian assassination in her presence?

The rejoicings and masquerades upon this occasion were extraordinary, and continued for some days after the baptism. The earl of Bedford had presented the queen, in Elizabeth's name, with a magnificent font of gold, weighing three hundred and thirty-three ounces, of most curious workmanship; and Elizabeth, the more to distinguish the occasion, had ordered some of her principal courtiers, particularly Mr. Carey, eldest son of the lord Hundson, and Hatton, who, next to Leicester, was her greatest favourite, to attend the earl of Bedford; and they were joined by a number of the chief barons and gentry of the north of England, with the principal officers of Berwick. Mary, sensible of the great honour intended her, treated them with so much distinction, that the French, and other foreigners, seemed not a little disgusted at her partiality. Before the earl of Bedford took his leave, he was presented with a rich chain of diamonds (for so it is called by Melvil) worth two thousand crowns. Mr. Carey received a chain of pearl, and a fine diamond ring. Mr. Hatton had a chain, with her majesty's picture, and a ring; and six other persons of rank

Presents
made to the
English em-
bassadors.

A. D. 1566.

received, each of them, a chain. The earl of Bedford was highly pleased with his entertainment, but lamented the differences between the queen and her husband; and before his return to Berwick, he engaged Sir James Melvil, who was sent to attend him, to counsel Mary to restore her husband to her favour as formerly, because it might contribute equally to her honour and interest. That such an advice should be given by an embassador from Elizabeth is not at all surprizing; but Mary must have been the weakest of women, had she followed it. There was not a species of treason or profligacy of which Darnley was not guilty; and had she degraded him from the honours to which she had so inconsiderately raised him, and brought him to a capital trial, all Europe, and impartial posterity, must have applauded her justice.

Departure
of the earl
of Bedford.

When the earl of Bedford took leave of Mary, she charged him with some dispatches to Elizabeth, in which she complained of the injurious speeches against her succession, which had been made by Dalton in the house of commons, and recommended the archduke of Austria to her as a husband. She likewise complained of the earl of Northumberland and his brother's exorbitant rigour in demanding an extravagant ransom from the lord Keith, son of the earl of Marischal, who had been their prisoner for eight or nine years, alledg-

ing,

ing, that their demand was contrary to an ancient march-law, established between the earls of Douglas and Northumberland.

A. D. 1566.

Mary had spent the Christmas holidays at the houses of Drummond and Tullibardine. Her husband, in the mean while, left Stirling with an intention to go to Peebles; but went to Glasgow, where his father resided, and where he fell dangerously ill. He was impelled to this by certain reports which prevailed at this time, and were equally alarming to him as to Mary. A servant, one Walcar, belonging to the archbishop of Glasgow, came to Mary at Stirling, and informed her, that it was publicly said, that Darnley and his father, and some of the nobility, intended to crown the young prince; after which, the king was to take the regency into his own hands. When Mary gave orders for canvassing this matter farther, one Haigatt, another servant of the archbishop, was fixed upon as Walcar's author; but upon his examination, he denied the facts alledged by Walcar, though he confessed that he heard the report that the king was to be sent to prison. This coming to the earl of Lenox's ears, he acquainted his son with it, who probably, on that account, took refuge with his father at Glasgow.

Indisposition of Darnley.

Mary returning to Stirling, went from thence to Edinburgh with her young son. Hearing of her husband's illness, she went to

A. D. 1566. Glasgow, where she attended him, during his indisposition, with so much tenderness, that it was publicly said an entire reconciliation between them had taken place. When he was in a condition to travel, he was put into a litter; and, the queen attending him, by easy journies, he was brought to Edinburgh. Archbishop Spotswood says, that his illness proceeded from poison, which, when we consider the character of Bothwell, is by no means unlikely; but bishop Lesley says that his distemper was venereal.

The earl of Morton and his friends pardoned.

In the mean while, Bothwell, who still preserved his ascendancy at court, had prevailed with Mary to pardon the earl of Morton, and his friends, whose activity in Rizio's murder encouraged him, with the greatest reason, to hope, that they would be equally useful in that which he was now meditating. Mary was possibly the less averse to gratify Bothwell, as she thought her authority to be now so well established, that she might venture upon her favourite scheme of, at least, procuring a toleration to the Roman catholic religion within her dominions. How far Bothwell was in the secret of her intention does not appear, or whether he promised her any assistance from the restored exiles. We know, however, that at this time, she held a correspondence with the court of Rome; and that pope Pius the fifth consigned to her a present
of

of twenty thousand crowns by the hands of cardinal Laurea bishop of Mondovi, whom she was to receive as nuncio into her dominions. Mary certainly gave his holiness all imaginable assurances that she would employ her utmost power and credit for re-establishing popery in Scotland; and that nothing should be wanting that could testify her respect for the nuncio. The latter came to Paris in his way to Scotland, and transmitted from thence a large sum to Mary. Notwithstanding those appearances, it is most credible, that Mary was sensible how impracticable it was to re-establish popery in her dominions. Her experience and good sense must have perfectly convinced her of that, though it is more than probable that the largeness of the present had induced her to exceed in her promises to a zealous, credulous, pontiff, whose liberality on such occasions was unbounded. That Mary had some reserve, appears pretty plainly from the bishop of Ross, who acted as her confessor, during her sickness at Jedburgh, writing to the archbishop of Glasgow, desiring him to solicit the cardinal of Lorrain to prevail with the nuncio to have patience, and remain at Paris till the baptism was over. The same letter represents, in the strongest terms, Mary's piety and maternal care, both of her son and people, during her illness. It is farther remarkable, that though she professed an unalterable attachment to the Roman catholic

Keith's
Appendix,
p. 134.

A. D. 1567. catholic religion ; yet, in what she thought to be her last moments, she goes no further in point of religion, than to recommend to the noblemen about her, that the conscientious Roman catholics should not be pressed nor troubled. Had she sincerely intended them any favour beyond a toleration, we have little room to doubt she would have opened herself on so serious an occasion ; and that one priest would not have concealed her sentiments when writing to another.

Mary brings
her husband
to Edin-
burgh,

Mary having for the conveniency of physicians, and her own attendants, carried her husband to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 30th of January, he was lodged in a house which had formerly belonged to the superior of the church, called Kirk o field, about the place where the university now stands. Whoever is acquainted with the low situation of Holyrood-house, must be sensible that it is by no means proper for a person recovering from sickness. Even quiet and solitude were desirable for a person in that condition ; and the air of the house was so good, that the duke of Chatleheraut, and the archbishop of St. Andrew's, lived in the neighbourhood. Mary, as a proof of her affection for her husband, lodged with him for some days in the same house.

where he is
murdered,

The solitude of the place encouraged Bothwell to execute what he had so long premeditated. He believed Morton, like himself, to be
a man

a man of no principle ; and he no sooner was restored from his banishment, than he directly proposed that he should join him in murdering the king. Morton, instead of being startled at so execrable a proposal, asked Bothwell whether he had the queen's warrant for the murder. He was answered in the negative, but that her majesty was very earnest the thing should be executed, because she blamed her husband more for Rizio's murder than she did Morton. Bothwell at the same time employed Douglas, Morton's favourite, and the same who had been so active in Rizio's death, to persuade Morton to the murder ; but the latter still insisted upon the warrant, which he said never was brought him. Bothwell made a new attempt to engage him when every thing was ready for execution, but still without effect *. Mary all this while,

* What I have here related concerning Morton's participation in the murder, is taken from his own confession upon the scaffold, written by the two clergymen, Mr. John Dury, and Mr. Walter Balquannel, who attended him. This is a curious and remarkable paper, and has all the air of an apology for Morton's conduct. Its inconsistencies, however, are glaring, and the contents of it contradictory ; for while the criminal acknowledges that he was again and again informed of Bothwell's intention to murder the king, he solemnly declares that he " never had art or part, or counsel, in that matter." His reason for not revealing it is trifling and childish almost beyond belief. " To whom (said he) should I have revealed it ? To the queen ? She was the doer thereof. I was minded to reveal it to the king's father, but yet I durst not for my life ; for I knew him to be such a child, that there was nothing that was told him but he would reveal it to her again ; and therefore I durst in no ways reveal it." But why not reveal it to the king's grandfather, who was at no farther distance than Glasgow ? Why not to the public ? And if he

A.D. 1567. was dividing her time between the affairs of state, and her attendance on her son and huf-

he thought himself in such terrible danger, how easy was it for him to have left a full account of it in writing, and to have retired to Berwick, where he was sure of being well received, and have waited there till he should see how it would operate. I have been at pains to collate this confession, or conference as it is called, with that printed in the Appendix to Crawford of Drumfroy's Memoirs, and with a paper in No. 291 of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Tho' they agree in the main, yet I observe one variation in the passage above quoted; for, according to the Manuscript, Morton allèdged, that the queen was only suspected of the murder, but the printed account makes him say that she was "the doer thereof."

Three other glaring inconsistencies appear in the same apology, for I can call it no other. First, the earl is made to say, that if he had received the queen's consent under her hand, he would have banished himself again till he had seen further; a declaration which we can scarcely suppose a man of his sense, at such a time, to have made. Secondly, he acknowledges that he never attempted to dissuade Bothwell from the murder; an acknowledgment that is pregnant with the most unfavourable presumptions against his memory. Thirdly, he owns that he received Mr. Archibald Douglas into his company even after he knew by his (Douglas's) own confession, that he was actually concerned in the murder.

To the above considerations I shall add, that the Continuator of Holinshed (who seems to have been better acquainted than any of his contemporaries, with the affairs of Scotland) is of opinion, that this confession is really an apology, "drawn up for the earl by such of the presbytery as were present at his execution, and favoured him in all respects, seeking to clear him of any evil imposed against him." The same Continuator in the uncastrated edition of his History intimates, that he had a copy of the same confession, but that he omitted part of it out of tenderness to people living. In his castrated edition he says, "that Morton opened a large discourse, laying the cause, the contriving, and the execution of the murder on great persons now living."

Upon the whole, I lay indeed great weight upon this paper, which archbishop Spotwood undoubtedly saw, because it may certainly be relied upon as to every circumstance of Morton's guilt, however favourable it may be to his memory. I shall but just add, that according to archbishop Spotwood, Morton's confession

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band, for whom she expressed an unremitting affection. On the 9th of February, she attended him till eleven at night, when she left him that she might be present at a masqued ball, given at her palace on account of the marriage of one of her domestics. Before morning, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were alarmed with a most dreadful explosion, occasioned by the house where the king lodged being blown up with gunpowder; and his dead body next day, with that of his servant, who slept in the next room to him, was found in a neighbouring garden, but without any marks of violence, and seemingly untouched by the explosion.

Though it does not fall within the province of general history to descend to minute particulars; yet as every circumstance relating to this atrocious murder is of importance, it requires to be cleared up. That Bothwell was the principal actor in the tragedy can admit of no doubt; but Mary must have been worse than a

Observations on the manner of his death.

feffion was such that it induced the king (James the sixth) to mitigate his sentence of hanging and quartering, into beheading and suffering his body to be buried. Though this is a favour in which noble personages are generally indulged; yet when we consider the prepossessions of James against Morton, and the crime for which he suffered; we can scarcely suppose that his sentence would have been mitigated (for it stood in its original force till the confession was made) unless it had been somewhat more ample than what has come to our hands; not to mention, that the hint given by Hollinshed's Continuator concerning living persons, procured an order from court for cancelling that leaf of this work among others.

A. D. 1567. fiend, if she could divert herself with dancing the very moment of the catastrophe. It appeared by the evidences of those who were examined, and by the inspection of the body, that soon after her departure from the king, he and his bedchamber-man had been stifled, or strangled (for no mention is made by good authority of his being stabbed). It is probable that Bothwell was personally present at the murder; and that he had returned to the queen's palace before the house was blown up. He was in company with Mary when the explosion was heard, and sent out by her to enquire into the matter. Upon his return he affected great astonishment, told her of the king's murder, but pretended that some powder lodged in the house where he was, had accidentally taken fire, and killed his majesty and his gentlemen of the bedchamber. Upon this the queen retired to her closet, and wept bitterly. Archbishop Spotswood agrees, in the main, with the account I have given; but I am inclined to believe the author of Melvil's Memoirs as to the manner in which the king was put to death: "Many (says he) suspected that the earl of Bothwell had some enterprize against him; few durst advertise him, because he told all again to some of his own servants, who were not all honest. Yet lord Robert, earl of Orkney, told him, that if he retired not hastily out of that place, it would cost him his life, which he told again to the queen; and my lord

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lord Robert denied that ever he spoke it. This advertisement moved the earl of Bothwell to haste forward his enterprize: he had before laid a train of powder under the house where the king did lodge, and in the night did blow up the said house with the powder; but it was spoken, that the king was taken forth and brought down to a stable, where a napkin was stopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated."

Sanderfon, a writer of queen Mary's life, says, that one Sir Roger Aston, an English gentleman, and the earl of Dunbar, were in the house with the king; and that smelling the fire of a match, both of them leapt out of the window into the garden; that the king caught hold of his sword, and desired them to run and acquaint the queen that treason was intended both against him and her; that immediately armed men rushed into the room, seized and stabbed the king, led him in the garden, and afterwards blew up the house. This story is told by a professed advocate for Mary; and he says, that Aston himself afterwards repeated it, when he went to England with king James. Many circumstances, however, tend to disprove it. There was then no such title in Scotland as an earl of Dunbar; though Sir George Home, who afterwards bore that honour, might then have attended Darnley's person; but the strongest evidence

Further accounts of it.

A. D. 1567. against Aston is the manner of the king's death, as it is certain that no mark of violence appeared upon his body. I shall here close this melancholy subject; but shall be unavoidably obliged to resume it in the subsequent part of Mary's history.

Informations sent to Mary from abroad,

I have already been so explicit as to Darnley's character, that I can now only add, that besides the beauty and gracefulness of his person, he was an accomplished master in horsemanship and all warlike exercises. He had a taste for music, and had received a complete court education. It is certain, that some days before the murder was perpetrated, the archbishop of Glasgow sent one Dury his servant, and advised Mary, upon the information of the Spanish ambassador, that some treason was intended against her. The archbishop heard some murmurs of the same kind among other people, and applied to the Spaniard to know the particulars; but he declined entering upon them, though he said he had written to his master, to know whether he should give the archbishop any farther information. The archbishop then applied to the queen-mother, who thought that Mary was in no danger, and approved of her having pardoned Morton and his accomplices. The archbishop closes his dispatch with an advice to Mary, to order the captains of her guard to be diligent in their office. Mary's answer to this letter carries with it the most genuine marks

Dated January 27.

marks of sincerity and innocence. She there declares, that she would rather lose her life than not take a vigorous vengeance upon the murderers. She says, that the treason was intended against her as well as her husband; and that it was by mere accident that she did not lie in the same house with him that very night, as she had done most part of the last week; that when she left him at midnight, she was attended by most of the lords then in town; and that it happened she did not tarry all night by reason of some masque in the abbey; but (adds she) we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head. The inference we naturally form from this letter is, that as most of the nobility were at the king's house the night the tragedy was acted; and that as a masqued dance (a diversion of which Mary was fond) was intended at the court, her leaving the king for that night was accidental. We cannot fairly suppose that she would have imposed upon her ambassador in matters that were so publicly known.

With regard to the part acted by the earl of Murray in this murder, I can by no means think him either so innocent as his friends, or so guilty as his enemies, have represented. It is to the disgrace of that age and country, that we must observe, the consequences of the feudal institutions, by emancipating the great landholders and noblemen in a manner from the common

Practice of
murder in
Scotland.

A.D. 1567. common law, rendered murder a very venial, and not seldom a very profitable practice. Notwithstanding all the provisions made by parliament against it, this evil had been gaining ground ever since the reign of James III. and the French administration, which succeeded the reign of James the fifth, was so far from abating it, that it was thought to be of service to the government, by preventing great families from uniting among themselves. Whatever commendable qualities the earl of Murray might have, we cannot suppose him to be singular in his opinion of a crime that had gained a kind of credit by custom; and the utmost that can be allowed to his memory is, that he might think himself innocent, if he was not really an actor in that scene. Many circumstances, which would be premature to mention here, concur to strengthen this opinion. That he was not upon the spot when the murder was perpetrated, is certain; for he had the day before acquainted the queen, that he was obliged to go to the country to see his wife, who was indisposed.

Burial of
Darnley.

Various were the conjectures of the astonished public, with regard to the authors of the horrid tragedy; but the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell, and his guilt is at this day indisputable. I shall hereafter have an opportunity of proving unanswerably, that the writers who throw any imputation on the memory of Mary,

A.D. 1567.

Mary, do it upon grounds that would be rejected as evidence in the trial of the meanest felon. Buchanan's virulence against her on this occasion, is not mere unjustifiable than it is ridiculous. He talks of omens and prodigies attending the murder, which would be laughed at in a monkish legend, and which shew the writer to have been actuated by the same weaknesses which he so severely censures in others. His misrepresentations are almost as gross as his absurdities. He says, that the nobles decreed a stately and honourable funeral for the king; but that the queen ordered it so that he was buried in the night-time, by porters, without any funeral pomp; and that, to encrease the indignity, she ordered the body to be deposited near that of David Rizio, as if she intended to please the ghost of that wretch by the sacrifice of her husband's life. The sarcastic, though, in reality, unmeaning turn given to this incident, sufficiently proves the writer's imagination to be overheated on the subject; but the facts themselves happened to be false. That the burying was private is not denied; but the body was embalmed, and had the other funeral honours properly conferred on it. It was then attended by the justice-clerk, the lord Traquair, and several other gentlemen, and deposited in the same vault which contained that of the queen's father, his first queen, and those of his two infant children. The privacy of the burial was a matter

A.D. 1566. ter of prudence, if not necessity, because Darnley, as well as the queen, having always professed the Roman catholic religion, could not have been buried according to the popish ritual and ceremonies, without giving public offence.—As the ecclesiastic affairs of this reign are closely interwoven with the civil, I am here to take a view of them as they stood at the time of Darnley's death.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

A general assembly of the clergy (being the thirteenth) had met on the twenty-fifth of December, 1566. It is to the honour of its members I mention, that they were actuated with a zeal and spirit worthy of the purest ages of primitive christianity. The legislature had assigned them a certain proportion of the church's revenue; but though far inadequate to their decent subsistence, it was not regularly paid, and many of the preachers were destitute of the necessaries of life. This was owing partly not only to Mary's turn for magnificence and expence, which had of late exhausted her exchequer; but to her growing dislike of the preachers, (of Knox particularly) and the hopes she entertained of re-establishing some of the most dangerous powers of popery, as an inlet perhaps to the whole. This shameful neglect of the clergy was, in a great measure, owing to the zealous congregationists, who had acquired, as has been already observed, so large a share of the church's property. So far

far as I can perceive, not one of the noblemen who watched and opposed the re-establishment of popery, ever dreamed of bestowing the least part of the church's spoil upon the Reformed preachers, to whose labours many of them were indebted for all they were worth. The preachers bore their hardships with unexampled magnanimity ; but their necessities became so pressing, that the queen at last made them a tender of a particular sum in money and victual, extending to the sum of ten thousand pounds Scots, and four hundred chaldron of victual, which a modern author perhaps over-rates, when he says, that it can scarce be reckoned equal to nine thousand pounds sterling*. When the assembly met, the assignation was laid before the members, and referred to a committee, who reported that their necessities were such, as compelled them to accept of it, tho' they were very sensible of their legal rights. They added, that they were willing to subsist upon what should be given them, was it only bread and water ; but that they would not desert from their vocation. The members next came to several very spirited resolutions against the ingrossers of the church's patrimony, and the misapplication of the tythes.

A.D. 1567.

Dr. Robertson.

But the great grievance under which the protestant religion in Scotland now laboured,

The archbishop's powers revived,

* This assignation is the act of privy-council, which Dr. Robertson says Darnley was not present at passing.

A. D. 1567.
Spotswood.

arose from Bothwell, whose infernal ambition prompted Mary to what she was of herself but too prone, to issue a commission, granting to the archbishop of St. Andrew's his antient jurisdiction, in confirming testaments, giving collation of benefices, and other matters that were formerly adjudged in the spiritual courts. It is not to be denied, that this commission was a wide step towards the re-establishment of popery; but at the same time it cannot be imagined, that Mary would have granted it, had she not thought herself superior to all opposition within her own dominions. Bothwell, however, as may appear by the sequel, had a farther view in restoring those powers to the archbishop. His commission superseded the powers which Mary had vested in the commissaries she had appointed for executing ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his province; and he no sooner received it, than he came to Edinburgh with a retinue of a hundred horse. The earl of Murray very properly applied to the magistrates of Edinburgh for preserving the public peace, which was in the most imminent danger, if the archbishop should open his commission, and proceed immediately to the execution of his revived office. A committee of the town-council being appointed to make the proper representations to the prelate on that head, he very prudently desisted for that time. Mr. Knox was not so moderate.

Knox.

moderate. He carried excommunications and church censures to the same height they were at in the time of popery. He instituted public fasts on account of the revival of that religion in Scotland, and the apostacy of some leaders of the Reformation. The reader who has the curiosity to peruse his writings, must conclude, that he thought the whole patrimony of the church (though the wealth of the clergy was one of the chief causes urged for the Reformation) ought to belong to the Reformed preachers. In short, he wrote a circular letter addressed to all his brethren, exhorting them to oppose the archbishop's new commission; and that I may not seem to misrepresent him, I shall lay the latter part of it before my reader. "Let this our letter and request bear witness, before God, before his church, before the world, and before your own consciences, that we require you, that have professed the Lord Jesus within this realm, as well nobility as gentlemen, burgeses and commons, to deliberate upon the state of things present, and especially, whether this usurped tyranny of that Roman antichrist shall be any longer suffered within this realm, seeing that by just law it is already abolished? Secondly, Whether that we shall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimony of the kirk, which justly appertaineth to God's ministers? Thirdly, Whether that idolatry and other abominations,

A.D. 1567.

but opposed.

Keith.

A. D. 1567. that now are more than evident, shall be any longer maintained and defended? Answer us, as ye will answer unto God, in whose fear we send these our letters unto you, lest that our silence should be counted for consent unto such impiety. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourselves, and all ungodly fear, Amen. Let us know your minds with expedition." The subsequent calamities that happened in the kingdom, diverted the attention of the public from this matter.

Mary's officers of state.

At the time of Darnley's murder, the following were officers of state: Sir Richard Maitland of Ledington was lord-privy-seal, and his son principal secretary of state; Robert Richardson, commendator of St. Mary's isle, was lord-treasurer; Mr. John Spence lord-advocate; Sir James Balfour was lord clerk-register; and Sir John Ballenden was lord justice-clerk. To them we may add Mr. James Mac Gill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, who were lords of session, and in high reputation with all the congregationists. All those persons were devoted to the interests of Murray, Morton, and Maitland, and acted principal parts in the succeeding scenes of Mary's misfortunes. I mention their names only to prove, that she could have very little influence in the ordinary administration of justice, or in over-ruling the trial of Darnley's murderers, if those officers of state were in earnest that they should be brought to justice,

On the twelfth of February, Mary ordered a proclamation to be published, offering the sum of two thousand pounds, with a reasonable annuity, to be paid to any person who should first reveal the devisers, counsellors, or actual committers of the king's murder, and likewise a pardon of the crime, although he were participant and culpable thereof. So ample a reward and remission betrays no conscious guilt in Mary; but it is not mentioned with the weight that is due to it by historians. Bothwell was not only suspected, but named as the murderer; and a few days after, a paper was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, which was then the parliament-house, as well as the common prison of Edinburgh, naming the earl of Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour, the parson of Fisk, Mr. David Chalmers, and black Mr. John Spence. Some writers have added, that the same paper threw some imputations upon Mary, as if she had been accessary to the murder; and mention is made of another paper being pasted up, containing an offer made by the author to subscribe his name, and make good the discovery, provided the money was paid into an indifferent hand. The state of the Reformed religion at that time in Scotland, and the ferment which had been raised in the minds of the people by Knox's circular letters, were extremely unfavourable to Mary; and the sway which Bothwell was known to have at court,

Proclamations for discovering the murderers.

A. D. 1567. court, naturally introduced her name into the subject of her husband's murder *, by no means to her advantage. New papers pretending new discoveries were every day produced. Portraits of Bothwell, and sketches of his person, and those of the other murderers, were scattered about the streets, and the pulpits resounded with his guilt.

Mary prosecutes her husband's murderers.

The memory of Mary has been most cruelly abused for her behaviour at this juncture, as if she had been remiss in enquiring after, and prosecuting the murderers; but how is that charge proved? Every measure she took directly refutes it. It was in the power of any villain to throw out dark advertisements to the public, such as that I have mentioned, and to stab the most innocent persons; but are such intimations to supply the place of evidence without better grounds? Was it possible for Mary to do more than she did towards discovering the perpetrators of the murder; and setting declamation and groundless suspicion aside, does it, in fact, appear that she omitted a single circumstance that could contribute to the discovery? Let us give the utmost weight to com-

* Buchanan, in his Detection, has given us a letter of the same date, and pretty much to the same purpose, though in stronger terms, and more reflecting upon Mary than that published by Mr. Keith. I mention this only to shew with what care we ought to peruse even the pretended records that are brought by the enemies of that unfortunate princess to blacken her memory.

mon fame, and admit the influence that it ought to have had upon Mary, and we shall find her conduct, even in that respect, irreproachable. But the reader is, all this while, to remember, that I speak from facts, and without regard to idle surmises, or unauthenticated suspicions.

Mary's ministers and officers of state were under no controul in their enquiries after the murderers; nor is it pretended they were under any. That they were influenced, however, is past doubt, and that too by Bothwell, notwithstanding the detestation in which they afterwards affected to hold him. They enquired after the authors of the advertisements, and the drawers of the portraits, but all in vain; and at last it was made capital to disperse such writings or representations. That her nobility and counsellors were not in earnest to discover the murderers, must appear to common sense; when it is considered that Morton, to whom Bothwell had so often applied to be concerned in the murder, was among them. As to Mary, she discharged her duty in a manner that ought to convince the most prejudiced against her of her innocence. One James Murray, a brother of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, had pasted up some papers on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, reflecting upon her as being concerned in the murder. She immediately summoned him to appear before her council; and left

Remission
of her mi-
nisters.

A. D. 1567.

A.D. 1567. lest he should escape out of the kingdom, she sent orders to all the chief towns in Scotland describing his person, and making it even capital for any master of a ship, to carry him out of the kingdom; but it does not appear that ever he was brought to justice.

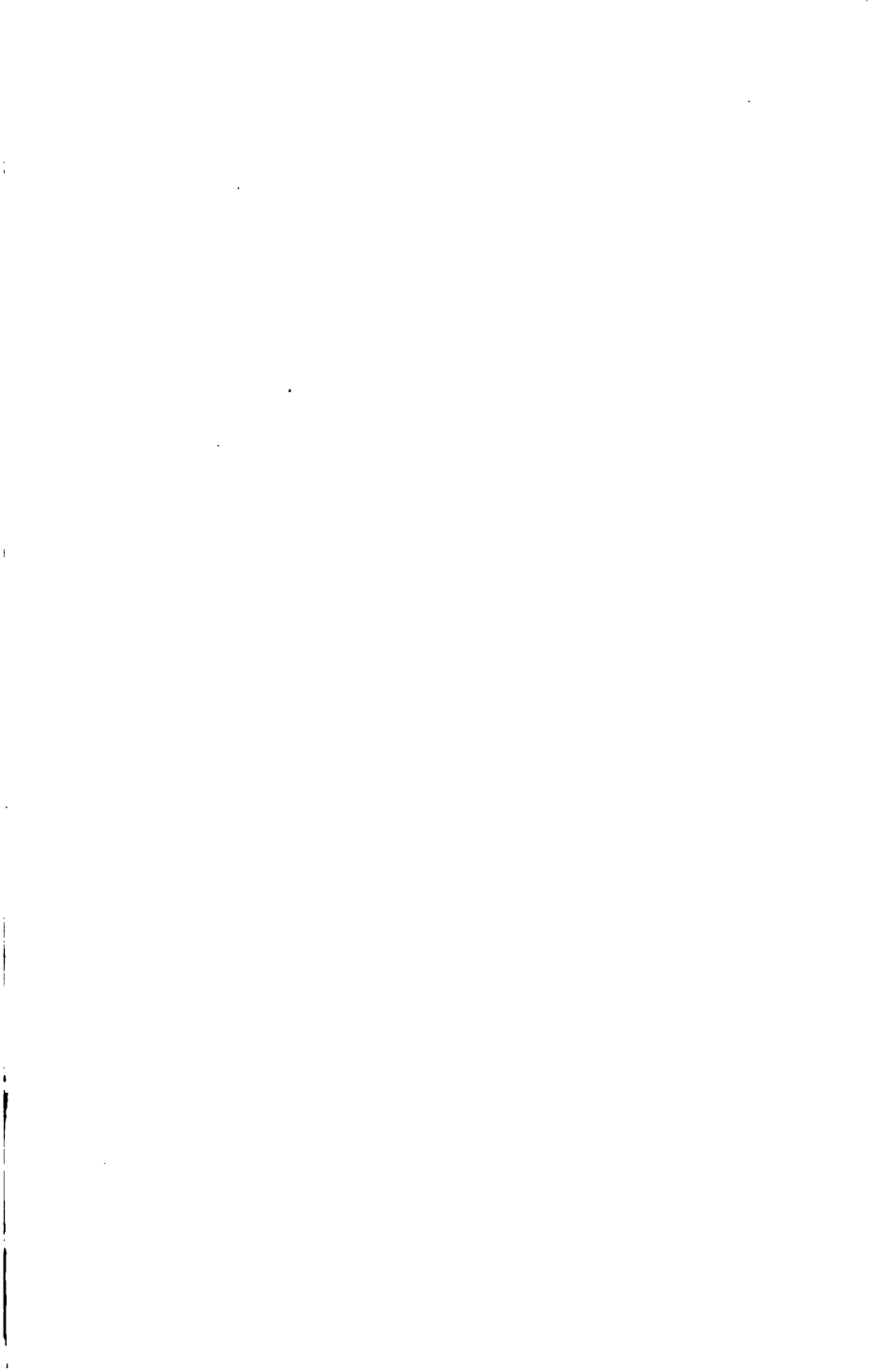
She re-
moves to
Seton.

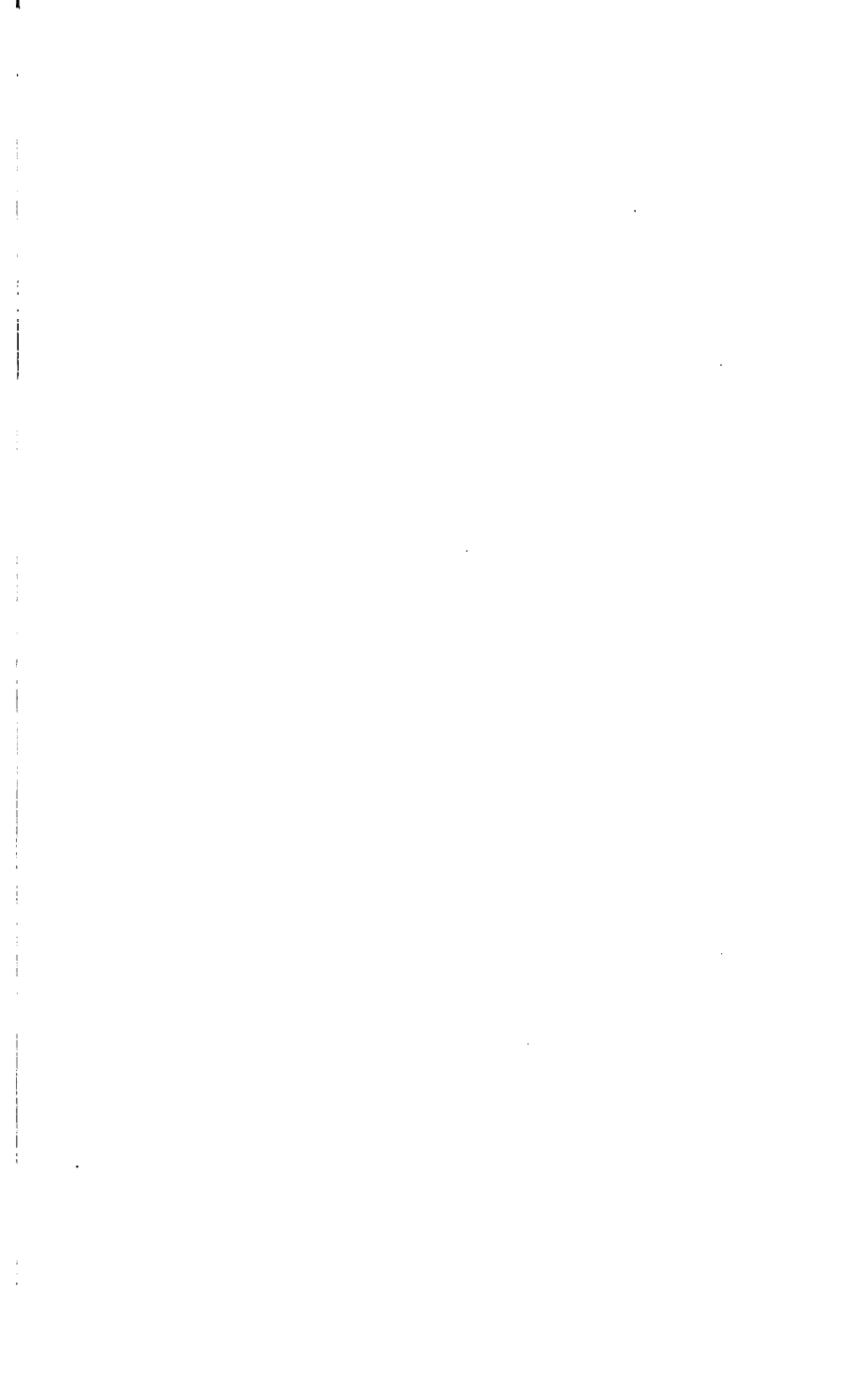
Mary's situation, at this time, precluded her from knowing the sentiments of the public with regard to Bothwell. She remained immured within the castle of Edinburgh, in a room hung with black, till her physicians declared her life to be in danger from the close recluse manner in which she lived, and persuaded her to remove to Seton, (which is but six miles from that capital) for the benefit of an excellent air. She was visited, before she left Edinburgh, by Killigrew, who was sent by Elizabeth to condole with her upon her husband's death; and the French minister, Le Croc, who had been some time at the court of England.

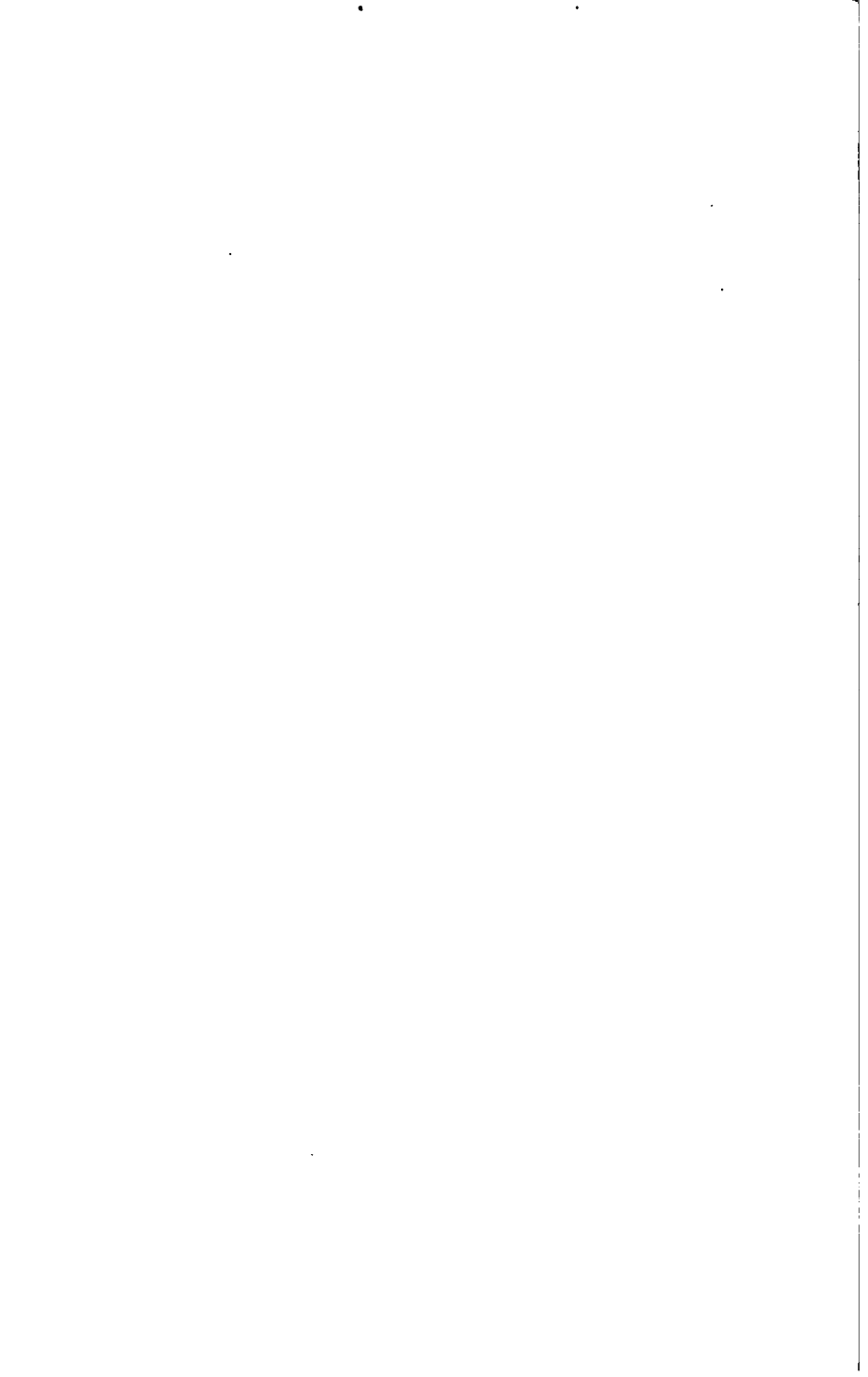
END of the SIXTH VOLUME.



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